

A TEXTBOOK OF
MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY
1789-1939

RAGHUBIR DAYAL, M.A.

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To
The Memory of
My Brother and Colleague
Mahabir Dayal

FOREWORD

THERE IS no greater pleasure for a teacher than to see a pupil become a teacher and a scholar in his turn. So the torch of learning is passed on from generation to generation and a teacher sees the fulfilment of his efforts.

Shri Raghubir Dayal, whom I had the pleasure and privilege of teaching many years ago in Delhi, comes of a family of scholars in that city. He has now devoted many years of his life to the teaching of history in the Mayo College, Ajmer. When a young man walking in the hills with me, he used to aspire to write. Now that wish has been fulfilled in a way that will, I hope, benefit many generations of students of history. Shri Dayal has used his long teaching experience and ripe historical knowledge to write a book on Modern European History from 1789 to 1939. It is intended for students and has the qualities required by this kind of book, orderly and analytical arrangement, due proportion in treatment, balanced judgment and a clear narrative. The English flows clearly, simply and harmoniously. Shri Dayal gives a very clear picture of the crowded political events of this crowded century and a half. It is not easy for us, living nearly two hundred years from the French Revolution in the midst of the rapid changes of today, to realise that this event was regarded as the end of all things by some, and as the coming of a new heaven by others. Shri Dayal, starting from that point in time, guides the reader deftly through the mazes of modern European politics through the crisis of 1914 to that other water-shed of European as of World History, the Second World War. The book will be of great value to the student of the period. It will also, I think, be attractive to those general readers who seek a clear presentation of this period. It is said that the best way to learn is to teach. The best way to teach is to draw on one's experience of learning. Shri Raghubir Dayal has done both these things, and his readers will reap the reward of his labours.

The history of Europe was formerly studied in India because Europe was thought to be the seat of power to which other regions must to some extent conform. How this power grew and the shape it took was therefore a matter of interest and concern. That

power has now gone and with it Europe's overmastering belief in its superiority and destiny to rule the world. Why should it therefore be deemed an important subject of study any longer? Why not substitute for it the histories of the United States or of Russia?

The more the power of Europe has declined and its moral pre-eminence has faded, the more clear it has become that these are not the only things of importance to be found there. The Greeks started by spreading ideas and ended by creating empires. The Europeans first exported their power and then substituted their ideas. It is this inner growth of Europe in the last five centuries, giving to her new concepts, skills and values, which gives to European history its significance for the present. These things she is now sharing with the world at large, and it is the story of the circumstances and conditions under which these developed which is of value to the modern world.

Mediaeval Europe was a religio-social society analogous to that of Hindu India. Church and State, though separate in form, were bound together in idea. Catholic ethics were the *dharma* of Europe, and society was organised on the principles of feudalism and hierarchy, with authority based on divine sanction and inequality running right through it. The force which broke up this society was that of nationalism which, stimulated by a great variety of factors, gradually replaced the disparate tribal and feudal units of Europe with a number of regions with cultural and political consciousness, a new sense of belonging and a new sense of purpose. When horizontal divisions of class became less important than vertical divisions of space, when where you lived was more important than that class you belonged to, nationalism may be said to have arrived. The "break through" was in the 16th century with the theory of the Divine Right of Kings as the theoretician's attempt to reconcile nationalism with divine sanction of secular authority. Nationalism became a flood in the 19th century after the French Revolution, reaching its peak with President Wilson's doctrine of self-determination in 1918. Nationalism is now part of the life-blood of India; in the history of modern Europe, its rise, virtues and dangers can be studied.

The interest of European history does not end with the rise of nationalism. The Renaissance was a recovery of the classical European past and as such may be considered of local interest,

but it produced an enlargement of the mind and a quickening of the critical spirit. It led on to the Reformation, and while this may be called a Christian sectarian quarrel, partly mediaeval and reactionary in character, it also led on to larger views and ideas. From it sprang the idea of toleration as a principle as well as a policy and by reaction the idea of the secular state. The 17th century saw the great intellectual revolution associated with the names of Francis Bacon, Descartes and Isaac Newton. Bacon reintroduced the inductive method into European thought, and applied it, as never before, to the study of all natural phenomena. Descartes was the founder of modern European philosophy concerned with the nature of knowledge and existence while Newton revolutionised the study of mathematics and physics.

All these men used reason as their compass to the truth. Authority, divine and human, gave way before the workings of the human mind. This was the essence of the intellectual revolution and something of fundamental importance. In the succeeding 18th century reason was applied to the study of human relationships, which won for it the titles of the Age of Reason and Enlightenment. Behind the glitter of the bewigged eighteenth century courts with their pageantry, their chess-board diplomacy, their calculated wars and background of squalor, the work of the French philosophers like Voltaire, Diderot and Rousseau and of their English and American counterparts like Locke and Franklin released new conceptions of the dignity and rights of man. This new thought burst into action with the French revolution to usher in the age of the common man. It was this current of thought which reached Bengal in the early years of the 19th century to inspire Ram Mohan Roy and commence the great transformation of India which is still proceeding.

But the common man could not have got very far if he had remained in common poverty. From this situation he was rescued by the great technological movement which began in the eighteenth century and is usually called the Industrial Revolution. In fact it is a continuous movement which has proceeded in waves and is now progressing faster than ever. In power we have moved from water through steam to electricity, oil fuel and the atom; in locomotion from the horse through steam to the internal combustion engine and jet aircraft. The whole process is one of application of reason to the secrets of nature and the adaptation of the know-

ledge acquired to the creation of power and the production of wealth. The age of power has led naturally to the age of well-being. A full material life is within reach of all if resources and techniques are properly organised. This new age has come to parts of the West and is dawning in Russia; India stands at its threshold. It has come in the West with much suffering and travail; the mishandling of its problems has produced revolutions of which the Russian was the greatest. The themes of 19th and 20th century Europe have been nationalism, democracy, technical advance and social change. In every one of these spheres India is vitally interested. The mistakes and disasters of Europe and America are there for her warning as are Europe's achievements for her study.

In shaping these forces in the age now opening up, India has her own ancient values and attitudes to contribute to produce a unique and harmonious whole. The study of modern European history is thus valuable both for the understanding of those forces and ideas which are now affecting India so widely and deeply and for the avoidance of the many pitfalls into which the Europeans have themselves fallen on their onward march. Modern India is the heir both of the East and the West; a comprehension of both will enable her to make her new temple of life the more perfect.

25 May 1964
Fellow of Selwyn College
Cambridge, University Lecturer
in South Asian History

PERCIVAL SPEAR

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map
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PREFACE

THIS TEXT-BOOK on Modern European History has been written primarily to fulfil the needs of students studying for their degree examination. There are numerous books on this fascinating period of European History, some rich both in content and language. Yet the author feels that quite a few of them are either too scholarly or have been written in a language too difficult for an average student whose mother tongue is not English. Certain other books are rather meagre in content. There is hardly any book which would meet the requirements of undergraduates in Indian Universities. In colleges where library facilities are yet inadequate, it is not possible for students to refer to a large number of suitable books. This book has kept their needs in view and tries to present the broad outline of important events which have affected the course of modern European history and have spread European civilization abroad.

An attempt has been made to bring out the interplay of social, economic and intellectual trends on the course of political events, and the impact of political forces on economic and social movements. A number of maps and chronological tables have been included.

The author trusts that the book will be of help to undergraduates studying the subject for their degree examination. It may even be of some use to the candidates who take the competitive examinations conducted by the Public Service Commissions.

I must express my deep sense of gratitude to Mr. V. V. John, Principal, Maharana's College, Udaipur and to Mr. R. S. Kapur, Principal, Maharaja's College, Jaipur, without whose advice, encouragement and unfailing support it would not have been possible to complete the book.

I am also very grateful to my eldest brother, Mr Ishwar Dayal whose guidance and valuable advice considerably enriched the text of the book.

Above all I express my deep sense of gratitude to my old professor Dr. Percival Spear, now lecturer in South Asian History at the University of Cambridge who in spite of his multifarious

activities was kind enough to read through the text and write a foreword for the book.

A Hindi version of the book has been prepared to meet the growing needs of students of Universities and Colleges where the medium of instruction is Hindi. For this, I am indebted to my friend and colleague, Mr. R. P. Sharma, who, notwithstanding his numerous preoccupations, has made it possible to prepare the Hindi text.

Another friend and colleague, Mr. T. D. Pant, has very painstakingly revised the Hindi text and has further enriched it by his valuable advice. I am much indebted to these friends but the responsibility for the presentation of the text is mine.

18 January 1962
Mayo College, Ajmer

RAGHUBIR DAYAL

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A TEXTBOOK OF
MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY
1789 - 1939

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION: EUROPE IN THE 18TH CENTURY

IT IS conventional for historians to divide history into ancient, medieval and modern periods. It is however difficult to ascribe any one particular date to the transition from one period into another. It was a process spread over a number of decades, the change occurring not in one swift stride but slowly and almost imperceptibly over the years.

The transition of Europe from the Medieval to the Modern Age was characterized mainly by three features: firstly, a great intellectual movement known as the Renaissance, secondly, the Age of Discoveries which followed and lastly the Reformation.

THE RENAISSANCE

The Renaissance was a distinct "phase in the development of Europe". It ushered in an era of change in the attitude of the people towards conventional beliefs and dogmas. It roused new conceptions of philosophy, religion, science, art, and architecture. It led to new inventions and discoveries and released new and progressive forces. It also marked the decay of the Church and the Empire, and resulted in the development of nationalism and the weakening of the feudal system. The intellectual movement had its roots in Italy and roused great yearning and enthusiasm for the study of the Classics. The ancient glories of Greece and Rome were resuscitated and there sprang a desire in the hearts of many to emulate the deeds of the great heroes of yore. Humanism was also a prominent feature of the movement. It extolled the dignity of man and his free will and stood for the "recovery of the human spirit from the bondage of ecclesiastical and political orthodoxy". It aimed at the self-emancipation of man and advocated liberty of thought, action, and conscience. It excited

man's curiosity and provoked a spirit of enquiry. It led to revolutionary discoveries in the fields of Science and Geography and roused a spirit of adventure among sailors. It also gave a new concept of the State. Machiavelli's *The Prince* produced a profound effect on the European State system and expediency and unscrupulousness marked international relations.

The Renaissance was deeply influenced by three events. Firstly, the sack of Constantinople in 1453 by the Ottoman Turks led to a wide-scale emigration of Christian scholars to various parts of Europe. Wherever they went they carried their books and knowledge with them. Their contact and influence further strengthened the Renaissance and was responsible for the establishment of a number of colleges and universities. Secondly, the invention of the printing press by John Gutenberg of Mainz (1454-55) made possible the widespread publication of books. These had hitherto been hand-written and, therefore, were limited in numbers and expensive. The new invention made it possible to print and publish books in large numbers and brought them within the reach of the common man. Thus knowledge was spread far and wide.

The third major factor in spreading the Renaissance to other European countries was the French, German, and Spanish invasions of Italy from 1494 to 1530. Italy had been the cradle of the Renaissance so far, but now it spread to the other parts of Europe.

The Renaissance in Germany encouraged a tremendous amount of intellectual activity and also generated a great religious movement known as the Reformation to which we shall refer shortly.

THE AGE OF DISCOVERIES

Another notable feature of the transition from the Medieval to the Modern Age was the spirit of adventure leading to the discovery of new sea-routes and new lands. In the Middle Ages the Mediterranean Sea was the centre of maritime and commercial activity. But with the rise of Islam and the conquest of the Middle East and the north coast of Africa by the Arabs and the Turks, Christian sailors and traders began to search for alternative sea-routes to the East. The Renaissance gave further impetus to this activity. The new scientific and geographical knowledge was

utilized by sailors in their voyages of discovery. Spain and Portugal, being politically stronger than the other countries of Europe, encouraged ambitious sailors to discover and acquire new lands for their masters. In 1492, Christopher Columbus, a Genoese sailor, who was financed by Queen Isabella of Spain, discovered the New World while attempting to find a sea-route to India. In 1498, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese sailor, rounded the Cape of Good Hope and landed at Calicut. The sea-route to India was after all discovered. Other sailors explored new sea-routes and discovered new lands and new seas. These remarkable sea voyages and discoveries enriched the countries which financed them because the new lands were appropriated by the country under whose banner the discovery was made. Naturally, Spain and Portugal got the lion's share. They excited the jealousy and envy of the other newly emerging national states of Western Europe, particularly England, Holland, and France, and a series of international wars in the 17th and 18th centuries followed.

THE REFORMATION

The Reformation was yet another distinctive feature of the Modern Age. As mentioned earlier, the Renaissance in Germany promoted a good deal of religious thinking and people began to assail the vices of the Roman Church. In 1517, Martin Luther (1483-1546), an Augustinian friar and a professor of Theology at the University of Wittenberg, raised the standard of revolt against the abuses and corruption in the Roman Church. His revolt soon gained momentum and many German princes saw in it an opportunity to weaken the Holy Roman Empire and the influence of the Pope and to aggrandize their own political power. Since the Emperor, Charles V, was busy with the Turkish invasion and since he and the Pope were not on good terms, the movement was allowed to grow. It demanded reforms in the Roman Church and protested against the vices of the clergy and the Church. The Reformation became a national movement in Germany and there was a bitter struggle between its supporters and the Pope, the Head of the Roman Church. Finally, by the Treaty of Augsburg (1555), peace was made between the Lutherans and the Roman Catholics, and the principle of *Cujus regio, ejus religio*^s

man's (whose the religion, his the religion) was accepted. The princes were free to determine the religion of their States.

The religious wars did not come to an end by this Treaty. Another Reformation movement known as Calvinism was started by John Calvin (1509-64), a Frenchman by birth. Like Lutheranism, Calvinism also spread far and wide and a very powerful section of the German princes also supported this movement.

In order to suppress these "Protestant" movements the Popes launched a Counter-Reformation movement. Persecution and wars between the forces of Reformation and Counter-Reformation disrupted the political, social and economic life of Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. It was only after the Thirty Years' War (1618-48), by the Peace of Westphalia, that some sort of a religious truce was established and Lutheranism and Calvinism were accepted on a par with Catholicism.

As a result of the Reformation movement, Europe was divided into Catholic and Protestant blocs. The progress of the Reformation had a two-fold effect. While, on the one hand, it broke the spiritual unity of the Christian people and heralded the rise of national Churches, on the other, it also undermined the political unity of Western Europe and gave rise to the establishment of national states. This naturally resulted in the gradual dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire in the succeeding centuries.

In the preceding pages we have discussed the factors which influenced the transition of Europe from the Medieval to the Modern Age. In the 18th century two new forces, namely, the Industrial Revolution and the French Revolution, brought about far-reaching changes in the political, economic and social life of Europe. (These are discussed in Chapters II & III respectively.)

A brief survey of the internal development and external relations of the leading European countries up to the middle of the 18th century will further help the reader to better understand the consequent course of history which unfolds itself in the subsequent chapters.

THE STATES OF EUROPE

(1) *The Holy Roman Empire*

The Holy Roman Empire was a medieval institution which had been founded on the break-up of the Roman Empire. Otto I

was crowned by Pope John XII as the first Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in A.D. 962. It continued to exist up to 1806 when Napoleon's conquests brought about its end. In the latter half of the 18th century its political boundaries included the whole of modern Germany, Belgium, Austria, Czechoslovakia, and parts of Northern Italy. It was a confederation of over 350 big and small States which were ruled by Archdukes, Margraves, Counts, Bishops, etc. who owed nominal allegiance to the Emperor as the head of the Empire. He was elected by important princes, called the Electors. Up to 1648 there were seven Electors, four temporal and three spiritual. They were the King of Bohemia, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Duke of Saxony, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the Archbishops of Cologne, Trier and Mainz. In 1648, Bavaria, and in 1692, Hanover, were also raised to the status of Electors. The office of the Emperor was not hereditary but, in practice, since the election of Rudolph of Hapsburg in 1273, the Archduke of Austria was invariably elected as Emperor. The Imperial crown carried with it much prestige and social status, but the Emperor's political power depended upon his own personality and tact, and upon his position as ruler of the Austrian dominions. There was no standing army of the Holy Roman Empire to uphold his authority. It depended largely on the goodwill and support of the princes of the Empire. To assist him in governing the Empire, there was an assembly called the Diet. It was composed of the princes or their representatives and was a purely deliberative body. Quite often its decisions were flouted by the princes. Petty rivalry and jealousy marked its proceedings. The princes did not allow much independence of action to the Emperor and his authority, as well as that of the Diet, was considerably restricted.

Within the Empire, there were two powerful States, namely, Austria and Prussia. Austria was ruled by the House of Hapsburg and Prussia by the House of Hohenzollern. The Austrian dominions were scattered. They were partly within the Empire and partly outside it. They included peoples of many races and languages. Their interests often clashed with one another's and undermined the position of the Hapsburgs. These factors weakened the Austrian dominions, yet the fact that their ruler was also the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, considerably enhanced his prestige. Prussia was her most serious rival. The Prussian dominions

too were scattered and they consisted of the Brandenburg, Pomerania and Rhenish duchies, and East Prussia. But throughout the 17th century the rulers of Brandenburg—Prussia waged wars and strengthened their dominions. Frederick William, the Great Elector (1640–88), established a strong, absolute monarchy and encouraged agriculture and industry. His son and successor, Frederick III (1688–1713), was recognized as King of Prussia in 1701 with the title of Frederick I. Frederick William I (1713–40) carried out economy in civil expenditure in order to spend more for military purposes and raised a mighty and well-trained army to compete with Austria on an equal footing. So when his son Frederick II or Frederick the Great (1740–86) ascended the throne, he was in a strong position to challenge the hegemony of Austria in Central Europe. In the dispute between Maria Theresa, daughter of Emperor Charles VI, and Charles Albert of Bavaria for succession to the Austrian throne, Frederick the Great saw an opportunity to increase his own position and territories. He fought against Austria relentlessly in the War of Austrian Succession (1740–48) and wrested Silesia from her. Maria Theresa could not forget the loss of Silesia. Up to this time Austria and England had been allies for centuries against France. But Maria Theresa was grossly dissatisfied with English support in the War of Austrian Succession. She desired to have a more dependable ally than England. Therefore, from 1748 to 1756, she and her minister, Kaunitz, worked ceaselessly for a “Diplomatic Revolution” in Europe. The new alliance brought together Austria and France, which had been enemies for centuries, against England and Prussia. In the Seven Years’ War (1756–63) which followed the “Diplomatic Revolution”, Austria and Prussia once again crossed swords and, in spite of initial reverses, Frederick the Great succeeded in beating off the Austrians and in retaining Silesia. The prolonged rivalry between Austria and Prussia was finally decided in favour of Prussia only in 1866 with the defeat of Austria at Sadowa (See Chapter XIX).

(2) *France*

Ever since the appearance of Joan of Arc in 1429 on the scene in the Hundred Years’ War with England (1337–1453) the French people were imbued with great patriotism and desired to have a strong national monarchy. But political conditions in France were

chaotic and the country was miserably torn by family feuds and religious wars between the ruling families of Valois, Bourbons and Guises. It was only in 1589, that these disputes came to an end with the accession of the Bourbon, Henry IV. He issued the Edict of Nantes in 1598 and granted equal political rights to the Huguenots (French Protestants) with the Catholics. Though a national monarchy was established, feudalism continued to flourish and the nobles wielded much power. It was only during the reign of Louis XIII (1610-43) that Cardinal Richelieu, his Prime Minister (1624-42), carried out many political reforms and established the ascendancy of the Crown over the nobles. He ruthlessly punished all the nobles who were suspected of treacherous designs. Their ring-leaders were arrested and imprisoned or otherwise disposed of. He demolished their castles which had served as bases for their predatory operations in the countryside. He enlisted the support of the masses who had been victims of the atrocities of the nobles. He also appointed a new class of district officers known as "Intendants" from amongst the middle classes. Richelieu also established a centralized and uniform system of government.

Under Louis XIV (1643-1715), France made tremendous progress internally and externally and established her predominance in Europe. Just as the 16th century was an era of Spanish domination, the 17th century was an era of French supremacy. Louis, the "Grand Monarque", as he was styled, had a commanding personality and possessed sound common sense. He was elegant, cultured and dignified and was fond of pomp and show. He set up a brilliant court at Versailles to which thronged men of letters, artists, architects, and musicians. His personal charm and the splendour of his court were admired by all European princes who set him up as their model. Louis was a staunch believer in the theory of the Divine Right of Kings and could brook no opposition. He established royal absolutism firmly. His ministers were only "secretaries" and the administration was fully centralized.

His indefatigable energy and unbounded ambition were reflected in every activity of the State. Internally, with the help of Colbert, his Finance Minister, he carried out far-reaching economic and financial reforms, floated a number of trading companies, and developed the Army and the Navy. In short, France

became the most prosperous State on the continent of Europe.

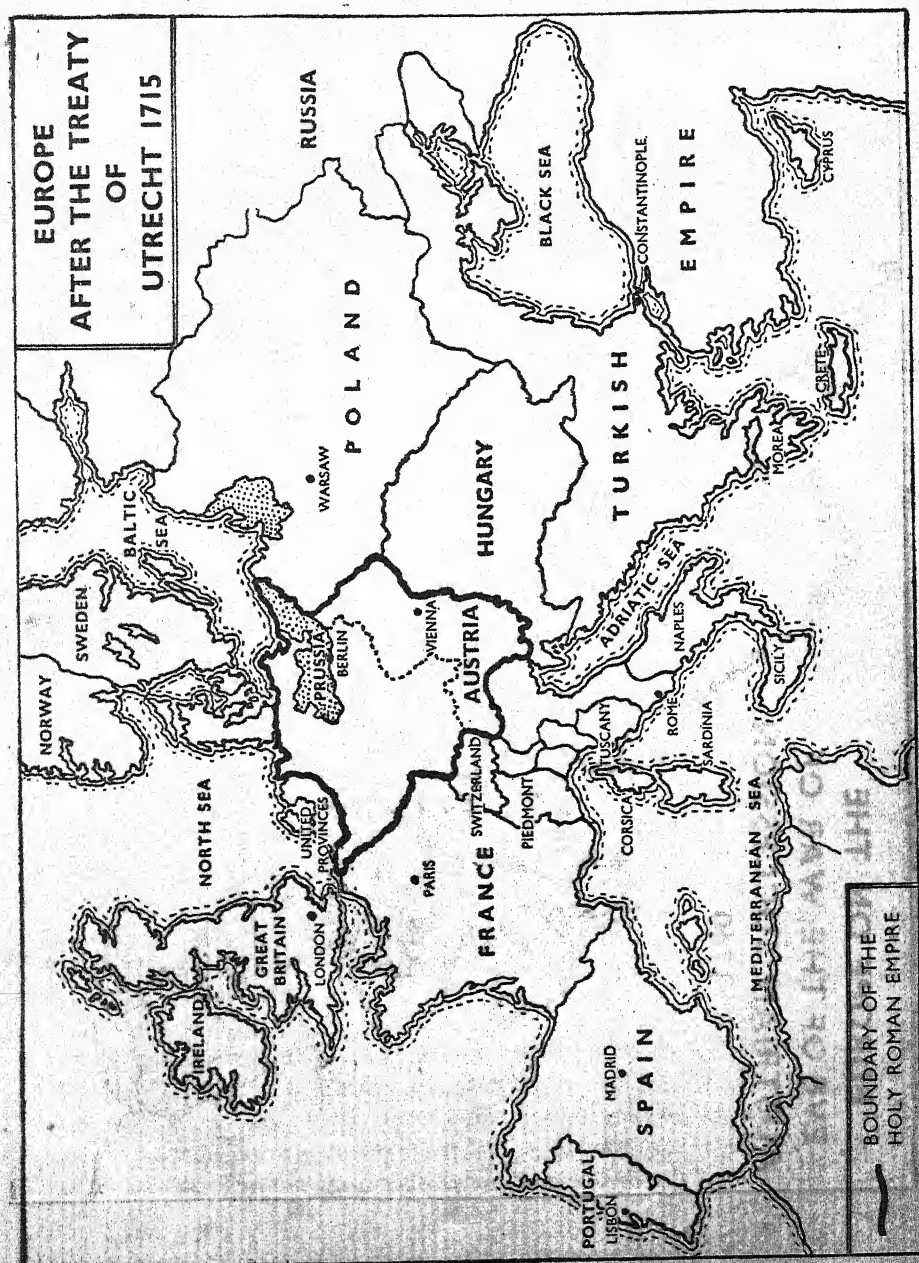
Louis was a staunch Catholic, but his belief in royal absolutism would not allow any interference by the Pope in the political affairs of France. He quarrelled with him and established his superiority over him. He persecuted the non-Catholics, particularly the Huguenots and revoked the Edict of Nantes. His religious policy caused much bloodshed and misery and thousands of Huguenots fled from France and settled abroad. They were great craftsmen and enriched the countries of their adoption.

In foreign affairs, Louis' main ambition was to humble the Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain and to extend the frontiers of France to the "natural boundaries", that is, the Rhine in the east, and the Pyrenees in the south-west. He also wanted to extend the overseas trade of France. These ambitions brought him into conflict with the Empire, Spain, Holland and England. During the course of his long reign, he fought four wars, namely, the War of Devolution (1667-68), the Dutch War (1672-78), the War of the League of Augsburg (1688-97), and the War of Spanish Succession (1702-13). As a result of these wars no doubt Louis extended his frontiers to the Pyrenees, and acquired the Spanish throne for his grandson, Philip V, but his dream of expansion up to the Rhine was thwarted by the indefatigable opposition of William III of England.

These wars proved a heavy burden on the French exchequer and whatever had been collected by the industrial and financial reforms of Colbert was drained away.

During the reign of his great-grandson and successor, Louis XV (1715-74), France was involved in further wars. The rivalry between France and England for supremacy at sea, on the one hand, and the jealousy between Prussia and Austria, on the other, resulted in two major wars, namely, the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48) and the Seven Years' War (1756-63). These wars resulted in crushing defeats for France and considerably lowered her prestige. In addition, they further weakened the tottering economy of France. The country was on the verge of bankruptcy and the government was faced with a grave financial crisis. It grew deeper in the reign of Louis XVI (1774-92), his grandson and successor, and resulted in the great catastrophe of the French Revolution of 1789, which swept away the monarchy and feudalism and ushered in an era of nationalism, liberalism and constitu-

Fig. 1



EUROPE ON THE EVE OF THE WAR OF AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION 1740

1740

- BOUNDARY OF THE EMPIRE
- RULED BY A BOURBON PRINCE
- BOURBON DOMINIONS
- AUSTRIAN DOMINIONS
- PRUSSIAN TERRITORY

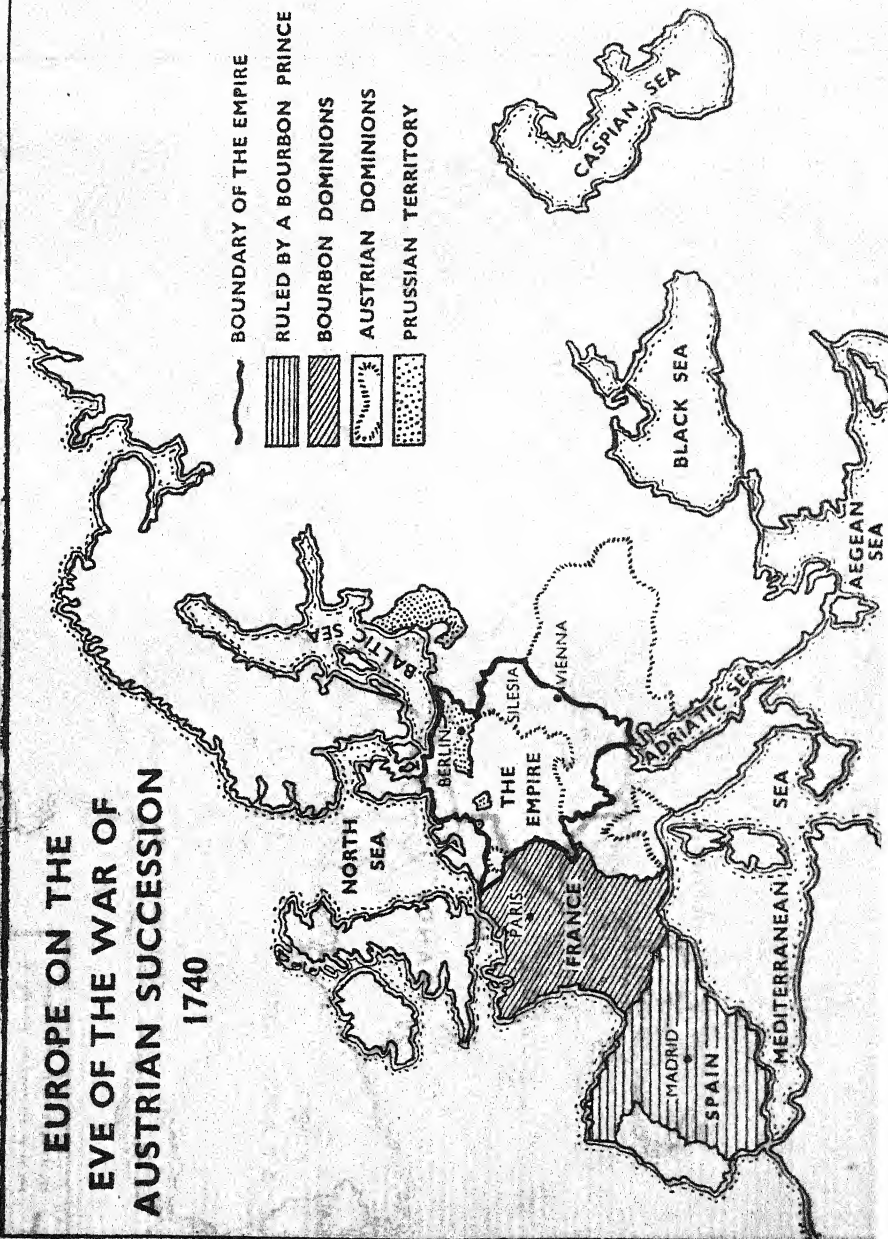


Fig. 2

tionalism based on the principles of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity.

(3) *Spain*

Towards the end of the 15th century, the two principal kingdoms of Spain, namely, Aragon and Castile, were united together as a result of the marriage of Ferdinand II of Aragon (1479-1516) to Isabella of Castile (1474-1504). The monarchy was strengthened at the cost of the power of the nobles, though the latter still enjoyed vast privileges. The most notable achievement of their reign was the expedition of Columbus and his discovery of the New World in 1492. In 1498, Vasco da Gama, a Portuguese, discovered the sea route to India.

These discoveries were followed by an extension of overseas trade and the acquisition of colonies abroad. Spain had the lion's share of both. Her overseas trade expanded considerably and she established several colonies in the New World. In Europe, Ferdinand and Isabella furthered their dynastic interests by means of a profitable marriage alliance, their daughter Joanna being given in marriage to Philip, Archduke of Austria. On the death of Ferdinand, the crowns of Aragon and Castile were inherited by his grandson, Charles I (1516-56), the son of Joanna and Philip. In 1519, Charles was also elected Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire by virtue of being heir to the Austrian throne and was known as Charles V. His reign ushered in an era of Spanish dominance in Europe and the world.

Spanish sailors discovered new lands and new routes and this brought wealth as well as glory to Spain. The Spanish king set up a glittering court and the nobles began to lead a life of luxury. Charles V abdicated in 1556. His Empire was divided between his son Philip and his brother Ferdinand. The former inherited Spain, the Netherlands, Franche Comte, Naples, Milan and the colonies, and the latter the Austrian dominions.

The Spanish predominance continued throughout the reign of Philip II (1556-98) though seriously challenged by the Dutch and the English. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 by England was a severe set-back to her superiority at sea and her dreams of world domination. Spanish supremacy received another set-back by the revolt of the Dutch in 1572. They achieved their independence from Spain in 1609 under Philip III (1598-

1621) and Philip IV (1621-65). In the first half of the 17th century, Spain took part in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) and suffered much loss of territory and prestige. Her long wars with France further weakened her. Charles II (1665-1700) died without an heir and his death caused the War of Spanish Succession (1702-13).

Louis XIV of France claimed the Spanish throne for Philip, his second grandson, by virtue of his marriage to Maria Theresa, elder sister of Charles II. Philip V (1700-46), was recognized king by the Treaty of Utrecht concluded after the War of Spanish Succession. The accession of a Bourbon to the Spanish throne inevitably brought Spain and France closer and throughout most of the 18th century the two countries co-operated closely in their foreign policies and fought against Great Britain in the colonial wars. Spain ceased to be a great power by the last quarter of the 18th century.

(4) *The Netherlands*

The 17 provinces of Holland and Belgium were known collectively as the Netherlands. In the 16th century they had been conquered by Spain. As a result of the Reformation in Europe, the seven northern provinces or the United Provinces (modern Holland) became Protestant. They revolted against the suzerainty of Catholic Spain in 1572, and by 1609 had won their independence. They were helped in their struggle against Spain by Queen Elizabeth of England whose policy was to keep the latter occupied in Europe so that English sailors could successfully harass the Spaniards on the high seas.

Holland was proclaimed a republic under the hereditary Stadtholderate of the House of Orange. The Stadtholder was a monarch in all but in name. William II who was Stadtholder from 1647-50 was married to Mary, daughter of Charles I of England. He made an unsuccessful attempt in 1650 to raise his status to that of a king, but the Republican party under the leadership of John de Witt thwarted his move and grasped political power. For the next 22 years Holland was ruled by the Republican party.

The Dutch were very enterprising seamen and after achieving their independence they established their supremacy at sea in the East and began to acquire colonies. The Dutch East India

Company which was founded in 1602 acquired Batavia (1619), Ceylon (1638-1658), Malacca (1641), Cape of Good Hope (1652) and Sumatra (1667). Extensive territories in the West were annexed by the Dutch West India Company founded in 1621. These colonies and the prosperous overseas trade enriched the mother country and roused the rivalry and hostility of England which was also trying to found colonies abroad and to extend her sea-borne trade. The colonial and commercial rivalry between the two countries was accentuated by the Navigation Act (1651) passed by the English Parliament. The main provision of the Act was that all goods coming to England must be brought in English ships or in the ships of the country which produced them. This was a great blow to Dutch commerce but they did not take it lying down and fought three wars against England. The First Anglo-Dutch War, fought from 1652 to 1654, resulted in a victory for the English. The Dutch had to recognize the Navigation Act. The Second Navigation Act (1660) passed by England further hit the Dutch overseas trade and the Second Anglo-Dutch War broke out in 1664. The Dutch were again beaten and by the Treaty of Breda (1667) they had to cede the colony of New Holland to England.

Two consecutive defeats at the hands of the English spelt disaster for the Republican party and John de Witt became extremely unpopular. A wave of sympathetic feeling for the young prince William of Orange swept the country.

Another disastrous war with England (1772-74) and with France (1772-78) discredited John de Witt and people rose against him and killed him in August, 1672. Prince William III of Orange was recognized as Stadtholder.

William III (1672-1702) played a notable part in thwarting the ambitious designs of Louis XIV of France and saved Holland from being over-run by French troops. In 1677 he effected a marriage alliance with England when he married Mary, daughter of James, the Duke of York, and thus the two countries were brought closer. The possibility of England joining Holland against France, compelled Louis to make peace with William by the Treaty of Nimwegen (1678).

William III was proclaimed king and joint ruler of England with his wife Mary in 1689. He now checked Louis's ambition by taking a leading part in a coalition known as the League of Augs-

burg (1688-97) which linked Holland with the Empire, Spain, Sweden and Savoy. Louis was again forced to sue for peace and by the Treaty of Ryswick (1697), the *status quo* was restored between France and Holland.

On the eve of the War of the Spanish Succession (1702-13) Louis XIV tried to come to terms with William III over the question of the division of the Spanish dominions and made two partition treaties with him. But later Louis repudiated these treaties and accepted the will of Charles II of Spain who left all his possessions to Philip, the grandson of Louis. William III again raised the Grand Alliance against France and though he himself died in 1702, the Alliance continued the struggle and Louis could achieve only partial success.

After the death of William III without an heir, the affairs of the Dutch Republic were managed by the States-General. It was only in 1747 that the Stadtholderate was restored and William IV (1747-51), a grandson of William III's cousin, was recognized as Stadtholder. William V (1751-95) attempted to increase his power and clashed with the States-General. He was suspended in 1786, but was restored with the help of Great Britain and Prussia. In 1799, the forces of Revolutionary France overran the country and William fled to Great Britain.

(5) *Italy*

A reference to the Italian Renaissance has been made earlier in this chapter. Culturally, Italy became the leader of Europe in the 15th and early 16th centuries, and her literature, art, architecture, etc. influenced the whole of Europe. But politically she was hopelessly divided right up to the middle of the 19th century, and was consequently the "cockpit" of Europe. Austria, France and Spain cast covetous eyes on her. Their mutual rivalry and jealousy and the political intrigues of the Italian states further worsened the situation and involved her in devastating wars. In the 18th century she was divided into a number of small states. There were the republics of Venice and Genoa, which had lost their pristine commercial glory and importance. The duchies of Tuscany and Modena were under Hapsburg influence, Milan was under the direct rule of Austria, Parma and the kingdom of Two Sicilies had Bourbon rulers. In central Italy lay the Papal States. Savoy and Piedmont were part of the kingdom of the

King of Sardinia. Austrian influence was, in fact, supreme in the whole peninsula.

(6) *Poland*

Poland in the 17th century was a fairly big state in eastern Europe and was bounded by the territories of the Swedish empire in the north-east, by Russia in the east, Brandenburg-Prussia in the west, Austria in the south-west and Turkey in the south. Her neighbours were hostile and so she was involved in long and bloody wars with them. From 1733 to 1735 she was engaged in a war of succession and finally Augustus III (1733-63) ascended the throne. With his death in 1763 Poland fell on evil times and within a period of 32 years, Poland was partitioned, repartitioned and finally absorbed by Prussia, Austria, and Russia, her greedy and unscrupulous neighbours. The causes of her fall were many. Firstly, she had no natural geographical frontiers, nor did her rulers try to build a chain of forts along the frontiers. So an enemy who decided to march his armies through Poland found no obstacles barring his passage. Secondly, this vast defenceless country was peopled by several races like the Poles, Cossacks, Ukrainians, Germans, and Jews who had no love for the country in which they were living and were utterly unpatriotic.

Thirdly, her people professed three different forms of Christianity. The Catholics, who formed a majority, looked up to Austria for support, the Protestants to Prussia and the Orthodox to Russia. Fourthly, she had a peculiar constitution, which provided her hostile neighbours with ample opportunities to meddle in her affairs. She had the institution of "elective" monarchy, so whenever a king died, the Diet elected a new king who was invariably a foreigner and quite often the Elector of Saxony was elected to the throne. This system suffered from two grave defects. Each election provided her unscrupulous neighbours with an opportunity to interfere in the internal affairs of Poland and each neighbour tried to boost her own candidate. Since the kings were outsiders they had no love for their adopted country and made little effort to strengthen it or improve it. Another constitutional peculiarity was the institution of "Liberum" veto, that is, even if one negative vote was cast in the Diet the bill was thrown out. All laws had to be passed unanimously and to achieve unanimity among the selfish and corrupt nobles was well-

nigh impossible. Hence hardly any reforms were passed and the country continued to be backward and conservative. Quite often the *Liberum veto* led to very chaotic political conditions because even the intransigence of one noble could hold up all progress. Fifthly, Poland suffered from the worst form of feudalism. The nobles enjoyed vast privileges and exploited the masses, a very large majority of whom were serfs. In addition, the nobles were selfish, unenlightened and unpatriotic and could be easily purchased by foreign powers and were vulnerable to bribery and corruption. Lastly, her unscrupulous neighbours, Russia, Prussia and Austria, fully exploited her difficulties and interfered in her internal affairs. Consequently, Poland was partitioned thrice: in 1772, 1793, and 1795, and she ceased to be an independent State. The partition of Poland was an "international crime". It showed that international relations were governed by the principle of "might is right", and that the weak states had no right to exist. "Enlightened Despotism", to which we shall refer later in this chapter, showed its worst traits in the international field.

(7) *Russia*

In the 16th century Ivan the Great (1462-1505) and Ivan the Terrible (1533-84) of the House of Rurik freed Russia from the domination of the Mongols and the Tartars and laid the foundations of a national monarchy. In 1547 Ivan the Terrible took the title of the "Tsar of all the Russias". He also established an Orthodox Church in 1582, independent of the control of the Patriarch at Constantinople.

In 1598, the House of Rurik became extinct and from 1598 to 1613 Russia passed through difficult times. There was a civil war and Russia's neighbours, Sweden and Poland, took advantage of this and made great territorial gains. It was in the middle of this catastrophe that the Russian nobles met together and elected Michael Romanov as their Tsar. He was the first ruler of the House of Romanov, or Romanoff, which ruled Russia from 1613 to 1917.

In the 17th century political conditions were unstable and feudalism at its worst was prevalent in the country. The nobles enjoyed vast powers and privileges. The authority of the Tsar depended upon his personality. There was hardly any national army and whatever army there was, was ill-organized and ill-

equipped. The Tsar found it extremely difficult to keep his turbulent and powerful nobles under control. Socially and economically Russia was a backward country. The masses were ignorant, illiterate and terribly poor. There were hardly any industries and since Russia had no outlet to the sea, there was very little commerce with the outside world. The bulk of the people were agriculturists and agriculture too was of the primitive type. Hence the peasants were very poor. To make matters worse the masses were thoroughly exploited by the nobles who treated them as no better than serfs.

Such were the conditions of Russia when Peter I or Peter the Great (1682-1725) ascended the throne as co-Tsar with his younger brother, Ivan V. During the course of his long reign he expanded the frontiers of Russia to the Baltic and the Black Seas. In the Great Northern War (1700-21) Peter defeated Sweden and, by the Treaty of Nystad, acquired the Baltic provinces of Ingria and Karelia and succeeded in getting a "window to the West". He also undertook a tour of Holland, France and England during 1697-99 to study Western progress in arts, science and industry and to enlist foreign support against Turkey. On his return he carried out far-reaching reforms in agriculture and industry and built up a powerful navy and army. He also strengthened the monarchy by ruthlessly suppressing the nobility. He did his best to westernize the people. They were encouraged to adopt western clothes, manners, habits and customs. Purdah among women was abolished. In short, Peter transformed Russia from an Asian to a Western country and she began to take greater and greater interest in European affairs. When he died "he left his empire a compact State with a big army and a degraded peasantry, westernized at least superficially and ready to play a conspicuous role in the international politics of Europe".

The process of westernizing Russia continued in the reign of his successors, Catherine I (1725-27), Peter II (1727-30), Anne (1730-40), Ivan VI (1740-41), and Elizabeth (1741-62). All-round progress was achieved in Arts and Science and a university was established at Moscow in 1755. In foreign affairs too, Russia played an active part in the rivalry between Prussia and Austria in Central Europe and supported Austria against Prussia in the War of Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War. Consequently, she was definitely recognized as a great European power.

When Catherine the Great (1762-96) ascended the throne Russia was still a backward country in spite of the reforms of Peter the Great. The task of completing the process of westernization and expansion which Peter the Great had begun fell to Catherine, wife of the half-mad Tsar, Peter III. She was deeply influenced by the "Intellectual Revolution" and extended her patronage to the great masters of science, literature and art. Voltaire and Diderot, the famous French philosophers, were her friends and were invited to Russia. Like all other enlightened despots, she believed in absolutism and, like them, in foreign affairs she was unscrupulous, greedy, selfish and undependable. Internally, she continued the work of westernizing her people and, under the influence of French philosophers, French customs, French language and literature became the fashion of the day. Russian administration was modelled on the French pattern and the country was divided into "provinces and districts". Her foreign policy was far more brilliant and successful than her internal reforms. She was an astute diplomat and knew well the interests of Russia. Her foreign policy was based on the principle of expediency. Her desire to expand towards the south brought her into conflict with Turkey and resulted in the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74. Russian victories over Turkey alarmed Austria as she too had expansionist designs in the Balkans. It was feared that she might join the Turks in an attempt to stop the Russian advance. But through Prussian mediation a war between Austria and Russia was averted and the three decided to partition their helpless and defenceless neighbour, Poland. And so the first partition of Poland was brought about in 1772.

As the Turks failed to get foreign support against Russia, they were forced to make peace with her by the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774). This Treaty was a landmark in Russo-Turkish relations, because Russia acquired Azov and found an outlet to the Black Sea. Russia was also recognized as the protector of the Christian subjects of the Sultan and thus she got an opportunity of interfering in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire.

Another war with Turkey broke out in 1787, but the French Revolution of 1789 and the wars of Revolutionary France claimed the urgent attention of Catherine and by the Treaty of Jassy (1792), Russian occupation of the Crimea was recognized and the rights granted to her by the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji were reaffirmed.

Catherine's intervention in the internal affairs of her unfortunate and weak neighbour Poland resulted in two more partitions of that country and Russia got the lion's share.

On the eve of the French Revolution, Russia was therefore a fairly strong and powerful country. She had acquired a window to the west and another window to the south. Her fleets sailed both in the Baltic and the Black Seas. The Treaty of Kutchuck Kainardji gave her the right to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan and provided her with further opportunities to interfere in the internal affairs of Turkey. In the succeeding century she fully claimed the right to achieve her expansionist ambitions.

(8) *Ottoman Empire*

The Ottoman Empire which had extended up to Hungary in the 16th century was definitely on the decline in the 18th century. It still covered the whole of the Balkan peninsula and included a large number of hostile Christian subjects of different nationalities. The old virility of the Turks was gone. Her neighbours, Austria and Russia, took advantage of her weakness and the animosity of her Christian subjects. Both aimed at extending their influence in the Balkan peninsula. Consequently, there were several wars between them and Turkey. Her total expulsion from Europe was averted only through the dissensions between Austria and Russia and the mutual rivalries of her Christian subjects. In the 19th century the growing weakness of the Ottoman Empire, the national upsurge of her Christian subjects, and the ambitions of Russia and Austria gave rise to the thorny and troublesome, "Eastern Question" the details of which we shall discuss later in this book.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

On the eve of the French Revolution absolute monarchy based on the doctrine of the "Divine Right" of Kings was the prevailing form of government in most states. According to this the King was God's representative on earth and derived his authority from Him. As such he was answerable to God only and not to the people. Hence it followed that his power was absolute and indivisible. The people had no right to disobey him. He alone knew what was good for them and they should therefore implicitly

trust and obey him. Only in England was this theory successfully challenged by Parliament in the 17th century.

Feudalism as a political institution had been largely crushed by the monarchs in Western Europe though the nobles still enjoyed vast social privileges. However, in Central Europe and Russia, they still wielded much political power and there were frequent clashes between them and the rulers. Emperor Joseph II (1765-90) failed to establish a rational, national, and centralized state on account of the hostility of the nobles and the Church. Peter the Great also failed to improve the miserable conditions of the serfs in Russia for fear of the revolt of the nobles.

In some states there had existed the medieval institution of States-General or assemblies, representative of the three Estates—the clergy, the nobility and the masses. They could meet only when they were summoned by the king. They could discuss only those matters which were referred to them by the rulers. They did not enjoy any initiative in proposing legislation or taxation and were completely subservient to the monarch's will. Even the ministers were mere secretaries and carried out the policy of their masters. Nor were all these states national states. Consequently, quite often, a large number of people belonging to different races, professing different religions and speaking different languages were grouped together politically under one ruler. The most outstanding example of this conglomeration of diverse peoples was the Austrian Dominions. Such states were bound to be politically weak as the various races and linguistic minorities pulled their weights in opposite directions.

It was the French Revolution which gave the final blow to feudalism and the doctrine of the "Divine Right" of Kings. It also created national consciousness among the different peoples and roused in them an urge to establish national states. The struggle for the establishment of such states was a marked feature of the 19th century.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS

Though feudalism had considerably declined in Western Europe in the 18th century, society was still divided into two classes: the privileged and the unprivileged. The nobility and the clergy belonged to the former category and in spite of the fact that they

had lost much political power, their social privileges and concessions were still unlimited. They paid no taxes, they were exempt from compulsory military service and they still exacted feudal dues from the peasants living on their estates. They alone had the fishing and hunting rights and they could ride roughshod through the standing crops of their tenants unmindful of the damage done to them. The nobles kept aloof from the masses and rarely mixed with them. The clergy too were exempt from taxes and enjoyed considerable social privileges. Ambitious men belonging to the unprivileged classes often joined the Church to satisfy their ambitions. The masses and the middle classes constituted the unprivileged class. They were overburdened with triple taxation. They paid taxes to the king, feudal dues to the lords and they paid tithe to the Church.

The middle classes were found largely in towns. They were mostly industrialists, businessmen and professional people and were fairly well-to-do. Some of them were even richer than quite a few nobles on account of their lucrative trade or prosperous industries. They were intellectually far superior to the nobility and hence they reacted very sharply to the injustices which were inflicted on them by the privileged classes. They had been considerably influenced by the Intellectual Revolution of the 18th century and formed the vanguard of the liberal and constitutional revolutions in Europe. The masses were mostly workers and peasants. Though they had farms of their own they were economically very poor on account of the burden of heavy taxation.

Serfdom had practically become extinct in Western Europe but it still survived in Central Europe and Russia. The serfs were not exactly slaves, but they were tied to the lands of their masters and had to do free service on their estates for two or three days in a week. They had hardly any civil rights against their masters and led a very pitiable and miserable life. Even with the best of intentions the monarchs could not improve their lot on account of the opposition of the nobles.

With the growth of intellectual awakening among the unprivileged classes in Western Europe hostility towards the nobility increased and near-revolutionary feelings were aroused in them. The financial bankruptcy of France, the refusal of the nobility to tax themselves and the scarcity of food goaded these unprivileged classes to rebel against the existing political and social

structure. The great French Revolution was the tragic consequence of the injustices to which the unprivileged classes had been subjected for centuries. It swept off the monarchy, the nobles and their privileges and ushered in an era of Liberalism and Constitutionalism.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

A very large majority of people in the 18th century were mainly agriculturists whose wealth was in the form of lands, cattle, pigs, poultry etc. They lived in villages and were divided into two classes, the nobles and the peasantry. This classification was based entirely on the incident of birth. The nobles owned vast lands and were extremely rich. In most countries, they were absentee landlords, because they lived at court most of the time and in their absence, their estates were looked after by tyrannical and greedy bailiffs who tried to fleece the peasantry as much as they could, because the more they collected in rents, the greater was their own share. The peasantry was divided into two classes, the freemen and the serfs. The former held their lands from the lords on the basis of a "free farm" tenure and paid rent in cash or in kind. The serfs had to work on the lord's farms for certain days in the week. The peasantry was extremely poor, as agriculture, their chief source of income was in a primitive state in most parts of Europe. Farming was based on the "three-field" system, that is, the arable land was divided into three fields and by turn one-third of the land was left fallow every year to recover its fertility. Rye, wheat, barley and oats were the most common crops and practically all peasants grew the same kind of crops. Sometimes they grew beans, flax, hemp, and vegetables. Rotation of crops was simple. Artificial manuring, by and large, was practically unknown. Canal irrigation was on a very limited scale. On account of lack of scientific farming and manuring the yield per acre was meagre and peasants usually lived from hand to mouth. They worked hard from sunrise to sunset. Their implements were crude: ploughs were made of wood but were sometimes shod with iron. Oxen were used for ploughing and scythes and sickles for harvesting.

Livestock like oxen, cattle, pigs, sheep etc. formed valuable possessions of the peasants though they were very poorly fed.

There was hardly any attempt to improve their breed. There was no adequate protection against diseases.

The number of towns since the medieval times had gone up considerably. The middle classes were the backbone of these towns. They were flourishing industrialists and traders or professional men and sometimes they were equal to the nobles in wealth, though inferior in social status. Trade and industry were still largely controlled by guilds. In most countries industry was yet in the "cottage" stage, though in England the seeds of an Industrial Revolution had been planted in the latter half of the 18th century. Overseas commerce with the New and Old worlds brought in a good deal of wealth to the business community. It enabled them to live in comfort and to compete with the landed nobility on equal terms. At the same time, the prospects of a lucrative trade with the colonies roused a considerable amount of international commercial rivalry. The wars of the 18th century like the War of "Jenkin's Ear" between England and Spain and the Anglo-French conflict in America and the East were caused as much by colonial rivalry as by unhealthy commercial competition.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

In the preceding pages we have surveyed the conditions prevalent in some of the leading countries of Europe. International relations among them were largely governed by religious considerations up to the beginning of the 17th century. Catholic powers grouped together against Protestant countries in wars. The Protestant Dutch were helped by Protestant England under Elizabeth I against Catholic Spain. Even in the Thirty Years' War (1618-48) alliances in the initial stages of the long conflict were based on religious factors. It was during this long struggle that political rather than religious interests formed the basis of international alliances for the first time. Catholic France in order to humble the Catholic Hapsburgs of Austria and Spain and to achieve territorial expansion at their cost, aligned herself with the Protestant princes of the Holy Roman Empire. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648), which was concluded at the end of the Thirty Years' War, was a landmark in international relations as it brought religious strife to an end. Though full religious toleration was not formally

granted, religious persecution was stopped and people were free to profess whatever religion they wished. Catholicism, Lutheranism and Calvinism were all given equal legal recognition. Religious fanaticism which had dominated the international stage for over a century gave place to secular ambitions. International alliances in future were to be based on the principle of the Balance of Power. According to it no state was to be allowed to become so powerful as to constitute a threat to her neighbours. The growing power of such a state was to be curbed by a system of alliances and coalitions. Throughout the 17th and early 18th centuries, European powers organized coalitions against the aggressive foreign policy of Louis XIV of France to thwart his ambitious designs to acquire "natural boundaries" for France. Consequently, the war of the League of Augsburg (1688-97) and the war of the Spanish succession (1702-13) were fought to maintain the "Balance of Power" in Europe. In the 18th century the principle of the Balance of Power was supplemented by the "Enlightened Despots" of Europe, with the principle of "Might is right". This was evident in the rape of Silesia by Frederick the Great of Prussia in the War of Austrian Succession (1740-48) which followed the death of Emperor Charles VI. Since Austria under Maria Theresa who succeeded to the Austrian throne in 1740 after the death of her father Charles VI, was militarily weak, Frederick attacked her territories and conquered and annexed the rich province of Silesia. Notwithstanding Maria Theresa's efforts to wrest it back from Prussia in the Seven Years' War (1756-63), it permanently passed into Prussian hands. The conflict over Silesia between Austria and Prussia was the beginning of the struggle for the leadership of Central Europe. It continued up to the middle of the 19th century and ended only with the Prussian victory at Sadowa (1866). Another more glaring example of the application of the new principle which governed international relations was the partitioning of Poland. That unhappy and defenceless country was partitioned thrice by her unscrupulous and greedy neighbours till she ceased to exist as an independent political entity. The expansionist designs of Russia and Austria in the Balkans were yet more examples of strong and powerful states trying to coerce their weak neighbours into submission.

Another important factor which governed international relations in the 18th century was "colonialism". Several European

countries had acquired colonies in the Old and New Worlds in the 17th century. Each one of them wanted to expand her sphere of influence and to claim the monopoly of trade for herself. Hence each tried to build up powerful navies. These great colonial powers, particularly France and England, fought a series of wars in the 18th century to acquire superiority at sea, because maritime supremacy was the key to the acquisition of colonies and the monopoly of sea-borne trade. By 1763, England had established her naval domination over France. Though, in the War of American Independence (1776-83), when France and Spain joined the American colonies, she suffered a temporary set-back, she soon recovered. It was her naval supremacy that enabled her to successfully fight against Revolutionary and Napoleonic France later.

On the eve of the French Revolution we find that Austria and Prussia were still keen rivals for the leadership of Central Europe and that the colonial rivalry between England and France had not ended yet. In the Near East, Russia had scored a spectacular triumph over the Ottoman Empire and, by the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774), had acquired the right to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan. The Russian success in the Balkans aroused the suspicions and hostility of Austria, France and England and in the succeeding century these powers played a notable part in arresting Russian expansion at the cost of the Ottoman Empire.

In short, in the 18th century, international morality had fallen very low and the very existence of weak states was in jeopardy at the hands of their ambitious and powerful neighbours.

GREAT BRITAIN

In the preceding pages we have surveyed the conditions in most leading European countries except Great Britain. She was very different from the rest of Europe in her social, economic and political institutions. Feudalism had declined, serfdom had been abolished and the distinction between the privileged and unprivileged classes had been removed. Economically she was comparatively better off than any other European country. The Agrarian Revolution had already brought in great prosperity to the farmers. In the 17th and 18th centuries her adventurous seamen founded new colonies for her and, by the middle of the

18th century, she had established her supremacy at sea. She was a first-rate colonial and commercial power. Lucrative overseas trade created in her a desire to capture more foreign markets and roused her ingenious industrialists and workers to invent machines to step up her industrial output. The Industrial Revolution which began in the latter half of the 18th century and which is still, continuing enriched her considerably. By the beginning of the 19th century she had emerged as the most highly industrialized country in Europe. Politically, constitutional monarchy with a parliamentary form of government replaced the absolutism of kings.

However, all these changes were brought about gradually but not without much bloodshed.

The accession of the House of Tudor in 1485 to the English throne ushered in vast changes in the political, religious and economic life of the people. Henry VII (1485-1509) consolidated the power of the king and crushed the last remnants of feudalism. He established absolute monarchy. Throughout the Tudor period, Parliament was absolutely docile and subservient to the will of the ruler. In the reigns of Henry VIII (1509-47), Edward VI (1547-53), Mary (1553-58), and Elizabeth I (1558-1603) England was deeply influenced by the Reformation movement. The English Reformation was inspired by purely political and personal motives rather than by any sincere desire to reform the Church. Henry VIII wanted to divorce his wife Catherine and since the Pope would not grant him a divorce, he quarrelled with him and broke away from Rome. He continued to be a Catholic, but refused to recognize the spiritual authority of the Pope. He himself became the Supreme Head of the Church. In the reign of Edward VI (1547-53) England became a Protestant country. Mary, (1553-58) the daughter of Henry VIII and the divorced Catherine, reintroduced Catholicism and once again Papal authority was restored. Elizabeth I (1558-1603) who succeeded her half-sister made a compromise between Protestantism and Catholicism and in 1563 established the Anglican Church, a Church largely Protestant in dogma.

Another salient feature of the Tudor period was the emergence of the English people as a great sea-faring nation. Elizabeth encouraged English sailors to explore the high seas and challenge the naval supremacy of Spain. Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake

and a host of other sailors found new lands and new sea-routes. The defeat of the mighty Spanish Armada in 1588 definitely put England in the race for acquiring her due share of colonies beyond the seas. In the cultural field, too, England produced outstanding dramatists and poets.

The House of Stuarts (1603-1714) succeeded the Tudors. The most outstanding achievements of this period were: firstly, the victory of Parliament over absolute monarchy and the establishment of constitutional government; secondly, the further expansion of English colonies and overseas commerce; and, thirdly, the Union of England and Scotland in 1707. During the reigns of James I (1603-25) and Charles I (1625-49) a bitter struggle raged between the monarchy and Parliament over the issue of sovereignty. The kings claimed sovereign power. Their claim was disputed by Parliament as the representative of the nation. James I was tactful and did not let the issue reach a breaking point. Charles I, his son, was haughty and tactless and precipitated a bloody civil war. Parliament won and Charles was executed in 1649. For the next eleven years England became a commonwealth. But the new constitutional experiment was foreign to English conventions and to the genius of the people and so, in 1660, Charles II was restored to his father's throne. He had learnt much from his exile, and therefore did not challenge the supremacy of Parliament. His brother and successor, James II (1685-88), once again asserted royal absolutism and defied Parliament. The bid failed and he fled the country. William and Mary (1689-1702) and Anne (1702-1714) ruled as constitutional rulers. The theory of Divine Right of Kings which was championed by Charles I and James II received its final blow and henceforth, by and large, Parliament became sovereign in all internal and external affairs.

The Stuart period also witnessed a remarkable development of English overseas trade. England successfully challenged the naval supremacy of Holland. A number of colonies were founded in the New and Old Worlds. These, in turn, brought much economic prosperity to the people. In 1707, England and Scotland were united under the name of Great Britain. This union further added to their strength and enabled Great Britain to face the challenge of other colonial powers with confidence and determination.

The Hanoverians succeeded the Stuarts to the throne. The salient features of this period were the establishment of a cabinet system of government at home and the defeat of colonial rivals abroad. George I (1714-27) was a German and knew very little English. Hence he stopped presiding over the meetings of the Council of Ministers. In his absence one of them took the chair and thus grew the institution of the Prime Minister. In foreign affairs Great Britain was involved in a series of colonial wars as has been mentioned above. She emerged as the dominant colonial power after the Seven Years' War. Though her naval supremacy was temporarily challenged with success in the War of American Independence, she soon regained it. This naval supremacy and her commercial prosperity enabled her to bravely and successfully face the forces of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France.

THE INTELLECTUAL REVOLUTION

Yet it was in the midst of this international conflict to maintain the balance of power among the Great Powers, that European writers and philosophers generated a remarkable intellectual movement which had its impact on the cultural, social, economic and political life of Europe. Gibbon (1737-94), Goethe (1749-1832), Lessing (1729-81), Kant (1724-1804), Montesquieu (1689-1755), Voltaire (1694-1778) and Rousseau (1712-78), to name a few of them, enriched beyond measure European thought and knowledge. The Intellectual Revolution of the 18th century was "universal" in its outlook, intensely humane in its approach and extremely critical of the existing institutions of the State and the Church. In spite of international warfare there was a good deal of exchange of thought between different countries. Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau were "three most typical and influential men in all the group of writers". Their writings had a profound influence on the minds of the rulers and the ruled in all countries. It was widely realized that the miserable lot of the masses groaning under the tyranny of the feudal lords, must be improved and the Church must be rid of the impiety and evil practices of the clergymen. Political and social reforms were an urgent necessity.

The rulers patronized the Intellectual Revolution and called themselves "Enlightened Despots". Three typical examples

of such despots were Emperor Joseph II (1765-90), Frederick the Great of Prussia (1740-86) and Catherine the Great of Russia (1762-96). They believed in the doctrine of royal absolutism based on the theory of Divine Right of Kings. Hence they tried to grasp all power in their own hands and establish a centralized system of administration. They were, however, not barbarous or cruel like the despots of the Middle Ages. They did not neglect the interests of their subjects as they understood them and worked hard to introduce reforms for their welfare. According to Frederick, "the monarch is not the absolute master, but only the first servant." He alone knew how to serve his people. He knew what was good for them and he and no one else could decide how to achieve it. Frederick the Great said, "the Prince is to the nation he governs, what the head is to the man; it is his duty to see, think and act for the whole community that he may procure every advantage of which it is capable." The Enlightened Despots, swayed by the Intellectual Revolution, carried out liberal political reforms and granted religious toleration to their subjects. Yet, in spite of the best of intentions, they did not achieve their objective of establishing a Welfare State because they could not get the emotional support of their people. Their conception of royal absolutism did not allow them to come down to the level of the masses, and they exhibited a highly contemptuous attitude towards their subjects. Hence they failed to diagnose the correct causes of their ailment and could not prescribe the right remedies for their ills. Though so close to the French Revolution they failed to understand the spirit of the age.

In foreign affairs the Enlightened Despots believed in dynastic states and by means of marriage alliances tried to bring under subjection as many states as possible. The result was that quite often a prince ruled over a conglomeration of nationalities which had nothing in common except a common ruler. They did not believe in "Nation States". Nationalism was yet unknown to the people of Europe. Their international relations were governed by the axiom of "might is right" and they were staunch supporters of the principle of "the survival of the fittest". Weak states had no right to exist and must be absorbed by their strong neighbours. Their foreign policy was not governed by any moral scruples. Alliances were made and unmade at their whims and to suit their conveniences. Never before in the history of Europe

had the foreign policy of monarchs been based purely on greed and self-interest and never before had the principle of the "Balance of Power" been so contemptuously ignored than during the age of "Enlightened Despotism". Frederick's seizure of Silesia and the three partitions of Poland by Russia, Austria and Prussia were examples of naked aggression against weak and defenceless neighbours. "No previous period in the world's history was more replete with international conflicts of a selfish, sordid sort than the age of Enlightened Despotism." Consequently, the Enlightened Despots stood thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the people.

They failed to solve the political and social ills of their times and drove the masses to exasperation. The French Revolution and the rise of nationalism and liberalism in its wake, were natural consequences of their failure.

Thus when our study begins a large part of Europe was still dominated by religious and feudal institutions, though the power of both was on the decline. The hold of the Church in religious matters was beginning to be challenged and undermined by the satirical shafts of Voltaire directed at religious practices and the vices of the clergymen. The philosophers of the 18th century advocated the complete separation of religion from secular affairs. Henceforth, we shall see the gradual emergence of secular forces and the withdrawal of religion from the stage of politics to the private domain of the individual.

Society, too, was principally feudal with a number of big and small landlords often in mutual conflict. The common man had hardly any rights in several European countries against the State or the Church. In the 19th century, the most fascinating study is the gradual growth of the rights of the individual man and his emancipation from the thralldom of the Church and feudal barons.

We shall also follow the rise of nationalism and the emergence of rational and national states. This change, however, was not effected without a good deal of bloodshed, nor did it bring an end to political rivalry and warfare. The national and racial antipathies and the ambitions of monarchs and politicians involved Europe in much bigger and wider international conflicts in the succeeding centuries.

Politically all European countries with the exception of England were ruled by absolute monarchs on the eve of the French Revolution. In the following century national monarchies rose on the

decline of feudalism and there was much conflict between conservatism and the forces of liberalism and constitutionalism.

The chapters that follow will give a detailed study of the development of a primarily agricultural people into a highly industrialized society. They will also survey the transition of multi-racial despotic monarchical states into a society based on equality, liberty and fraternity and politically organized into national and secular states with responsible governments. In the 20th century the political and economic forces that were let loose in the preceding centuries further widened the mind of man till he has begun to think in terms of a League of Nations, a United Nations Organization and a World Government.

Chapter 2

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

IF EVER two events moulded the course of human destiny in modern times they were the French and the Industrial Revolutions. Modern European civilization has been deeply influenced by these two factors and with the spread of European civilization to the Americas and Australasia and the continents of Asia and Africa, their message was carried to all the corners of the globe.

A. THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution of 1789 had far-reaching effects on the political life of the people. The revolutionary principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity generated a new political force, namely, dynamic nationalism, which first swept France and was responsible for the overthrow of absolute monarchy and the privileges of the feudal lords. In its wake it brought new ideas and conceptions which made drastic changes in the realm of politics, law and government. Chapter 3 deals with its causes and effects. In the 19th century it affected the rest of Europe and was primarily responsible for the national awakening in Italy, Germany, the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans. Later, the gospel of the French Revolution spread to America and Asia through the influence of Western ideas and education.

B. THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The second important factor was the Industrial Revolution. Up to the middle of the 18th century European society was mainly agricultural. Whatever industries there were, were confined to the "domestic" sphere. There was no machinery, or water power, or steam to work these industries. Manual labour was

the chief source of power. Each village was practically self-sufficient and provided all its essential needs. There was not much of inter-village trade on account of the hardships and difficulties of travelling. Roads were in a very poor state and travelling and transportation were extremely risky. Practically each villager, in his spare time, took to some small industry to supplement his income. There was no large-scale corporate industry and the individual worker worked as a single unit. It was in this typically agricultural background that the seeds of an industrial revolution were sown in about 1770.

The Industrial Revolution which practically synchronized with the reign of George III in England wrought a series of changes in the methods of manufacture, production and distribution and affected drastically the economic and social life of the people. In discussing its salient features two things must be borne in mind: *Firstly, it was essentially evolutionary in character and, secondly it did not affect all countries simultaneously.*

The Industrial Revolution transformed an over-whelmingly agricultural society into an industrial one. But it must be remembered that the Industrial Revolution was not a revolution in the normal sense of the word. Revolutions are generally associated with suddenness, violence and bloodshed. The Industrial Revolution was free from all these harrowing characteristics. It would be more appropriate to call it an "Evolution", because it was not the result of a violent outburst but of steady, continuous effort and achievement. It took place over several decades and was slow and gradual and is still continuing. "The Industrial Revolution was a long, slow process of change, beginning obscurely, we cannot say precisely when, and only ending recently, if indeed it has ended yet."

Another factor to be remembered about it is that it originated in England in the latter half of the 18th century where political and economic conditions were most suitable for its germination. It enriched her and gave her a lead over all other European countries. It spread to the main continent of Europe and further abroad almost fifty years later. It influenced Belgium and France and the United States only after the fall of Napoleon in 1815; Germany was affected still later and the East European countries continued to be mostly agricultural right up to the end of the 19th century.

Reasons for the Industrial Revolution beginning in England

The economic and political conditions in England were very suitable for the growth and development of the Industrial Revolution.

(1) **Abundance of Capital.** The Industrial Revolution was preceded by an Agrarian Revolution in England. At the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, vast changes had taken place in agriculture. Better methods of cultivation, rotation of crops and improved drainage had resulted in greater yield per acre. The open-field system was replaced by "enclosures" as a result of several Parliamentary Acts in the beginning of the 18th century. The "enclosure" movement was essentially beneficial to the big landlords who, in course of time, came to own big farms. On such enclosed lands it was easy to grow better crops, to introduce better drainage and to improve the breed of livestock with fewer agricultural labourers. Consequently, their earnings increased considerably and they had plenty of agricultural capital to invest in the new industries. In addition to the agricultural capitalists, there were a large number of commercial capitalists who had become exceedingly rich through foreign trade, slave trade and piracy. In the new industrial developments they saw great possibilities of further enriching themselves and so they became pioneers of the Industrial Revolution.

(2) **Availability of Cheap Labour.** The "enclosure" movement deprived a large number of peasants of their land as they could not afford to compete with big landlords and "enclose" their lands, nor could they apply scientific methods of farming to their small holdings for want of money. They were, therefore, gradually forced out of existence and had to dispose of their lands. Many of them were now without work but free to move and do what they liked. They migrated to the towns in the hope of finding employment in factories. Manpower in large numbers was thus easily available for work in factories.

(3) **Commercial and Maritime Enterprise: urge to capture more Markets.** Ship building was an old and popular industry in England even in the 17th century when Peter the Great of Russia visited the country. Since then she had built a powerful navy and had defeated all her rivals like the Dutch and the French. She was now the undisputed mistress of the seas

and this had enabled her to build up an enormous and lucrative sea-borne trade. Her ships sailed to many parts of the globe and brought raw material, tobacco, tea, sugar, spices and cotton in large quantities. In return she exported woollen cloth. Simultaneously, she acquired a number of colonies and founded a few settlements. This British expansion beyond the seas opened up new vistas of foreign trade. For her expanding foreign trade it was necessary that the exports should keep pace with the imports, and hence it was imperative to step up her domestic industries to meet the increased demands. If England was to become the richest country of the world more and more goods for export must be manufactured to capture foreign markets. This would require a gigantic effort. The stakes were high and the prize was worth attaining and so the English capitalists and inventors rose to the occasion. There was a very strong urge among the people to improve production and it prompted the ingenious and enterprising among them to make a number of inventions.

The Indian cotton cloth had caught the fascination of the European people. The new inventions were therefore applied to the manufacture of cotton cloth, but not without very stiff opposition from the manufacturers of woollen cloth. Cotton cloth at first had to be interwoven with wool. When its production was established on a large scale, it was exported in large quantities in return for raw materials from the colonies.

(4) **Natural Resources.** Nature was specially kind to England, for she had bestowed on her vast stores of iron and coal which are the life-blood of industry. In Lancashire and Yorkshire there were areas where both were found in abundance in close proximity to each other. Both these minerals were needed in the manufacture of machines and the production of steam, the new motive power. Moreover, her moist climate was ideally suited to the manufacture of cotton textiles.

(5) **The Bank of England.** The Bank of England, which was established in 1694, and the National Debt were institutions of great importance whose significance was little realized at the time. They had primarily been brought into existence to provide ready money to finance the war against Louis XIV. Loans were made available to the State on the security of the taxes. In peaceful times this money was available for economic and industrial development at a nominal rate of interest. "The engines of the Industrial

Revolution which made England so rich and powerful that she was able to stand the strain of Napoleonic wars, were moved by the oil of finance, and at the heart of the English financial system stood the Bank."

(6) **Favourable Political Condition.** Politically, England was a free country. Her parliamentary system of government had come to stay and there were no political upheavals to disturb domestic peace, unlike those in France or other European countries. Peaceful political conditions provided a suitable environment for the growth and development of commerce and industry. English capitalists felt secure in investing money in them and were not afraid of a change of government.

(7) **Ingenuity of the British People.** On account of the naval supremacy of the English people, they had established wide contacts with different countries of the world. Their spirit of adventure which had so far largely been confined to maritime activity was now turned to other spheres. A large number of very talented English workers successfully applied their energy and knowledge to industrial development and invented a large number of machines.

No other country in Europe, not even France, which was the nerve centre of political life in Europe, was pregnant with so many potentialities for industrial development. All factors were incomparably more favourable for a change in England.

The Industrial Revolution provided England with money for her wars against Revolutionary France and Napoleon. As a matter of fact, these wars gave a further fillip to the English Industrial Revolution and encouraged greater production. "Napoleon's career enabled the Industrial Revolution to go forward in England and the Industrial Revolution enabled England to overthrow Napoleon."

Let us now study the Industrial Revolution in detail.

A. *The "Preliminary Phase" (1770-1830)*

During this period the Industrial Revolution was mainly confined to developments in the fields of cotton industry, mining and transport.

I. COTTON INDUSTRY

Cotton fabrics like the "Dacca Muslin" imported from India

had won the admiration of the British people in the early 18th century. It became fashionable to wear cotton clothes. The cotton industry therefore received a great impetus. But this roused the jealousy of the old woollen and silk manufacturers and the aid of Parliament was sought by them to protect the old English industries against the inroads of the new cotton industry. Cotton cloth could only be made provided there was an admixture of wool. It was made in the old way; it was hand-spun and hand-woven. The urge to increase production of cotton cloth led men to apply their knowledge and energy to inventing machines and a number of weaving and spinning machines were invented.

(1) **John Kay's "Flying Shuttle" (1733).** This machine doubled the speed of weaving and saved labour considerably. Now there was a demand for quicker spinning and quite a few spinning machines were invented.

(2) **James Hargreaves's "Spinning Jenny" (1767).** So far the spinning machines could work only one spindle and produce one yarn at a time, but James Hargreaves invented a machine which he named "Spinning Jenny" after his wife and which could work eight spindles at a time. This increased the output of yarn eight times. In the beginning it roused the hostility of the workers who feared that they would be thrown out of employment on account of it.

(3) **Richard Arkwright's "Spinning Frame" (1769).** Arkwright, a barber's assistant and a horse dealer, further improved the process of spinning and made a revolutionary invention which he called the "Spinning Frame", which could produce the yarn and twist it too by means of revolving spindles. The new invention was worked by horse power and was a distinct improvement on the "Spinning Jenny" in as much as it produced stronger and firmer thread. By 1773, water power substituted horse power and a number of factories were installed. Arkwright has been rightly called the "Parent of the Factory system."

(4) **Samuel Crompton's "Spinning Mule".** It marked another milestone in the progress of spinning and produced better, finer and firmer thread. Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton had made revolutionary inventions in the field of spinning which increased several times the quantity of yarn. Men now began to think of ways and means to improve Kay's weaving machine.

(5) **Edmund Cartwright's "Power Loom" (1785).** Cartwright, a clergyman, invented a new and improved loom

which was first worked by horse power and later adjusted to steam power in 1789. Side by side with the invention of spinning and weaving machines, improvements were also made in carding cotton, bleaching, dyeing and printing cotton fabrics mechanically.

II. MINING AND METALLURGY

In olden days wood was used for smelting iron, but the process was long and tedious and, at the same time, there was a grave risk of denuding the country of all its forests. So men began to think of other fuel for their foundries and soon discovered that coal was a much better substitute for wood. Coal was available in abundance but the problem was how to take it out of the mines which got flooded with water. Unless water could be pumped out, it was difficult to take out coal. Hence inventors began to pay attention to the problem of pumping out water.

Newcomen invented a steam engine which helped the miners in pumping out water quickly. But the engine suffered from several defects: it wasted a good deal of heat and fuel and sometimes was uncertain in operation. Its defects were later removed by the invention of James Watt.

Another inventor named Abraham Darby used coke successfully for smelting iron but its quality was still crude. Henry Cort in 1784 discovered better processes to improve the quality.

James Watt's Steam Engine (1769). By far the most important invention of this phase of the Industrial Revolution was the steam engine which revolutionized industry and mining. Steam as motive power had a distinct advantage over water power. It was no longer necessary to instal factories near waterfalls. Steam could be produced anywhere and everywhere. James Watt studied Newcomen's steam engine and removed its defects and invented a new engine with a separate condenser. The "Beelzebub", as the new engine was called, was first employed in mines. Later, the invention of the rotary motion brought the steam engine into cotton factories too. Steam now definitely replaced horse and water power in the textile industry also. There was, therefore, a great demand for steam engines. With the financial assistance of his friend Boulton, James Watt began to produce steam engines for industrial purposes. "The union of machinery with steam force multiplied tremendously the resources of mankind."

Maudslay's "Slide-rest". Watt experienced great difficulty in making the steam engine on account of lack of precision tools. Maudslay's "slide-rest" was a great invention which helped considerably in the making of such tools.

III. DEVELOPMENT OF TRANSPORT

Increased production demanded more raw material and new markets for the finished products. In order to facilitate their movement, it was necessary to improve the means of transport. The old roads were in a dilapidated condition, the navigation by river and sea was very slow and there were yet no railways or aeroplanes. Hence the need of the hour was improved transport.

Roads. John Metcalfe, Thomas Telford and John Macadam made tremendous improvements in road making. Gravel, stone and tar were used in making pukka roads and a network of roads was laid all over the country. Travelling by coach became more comfortable and transport quicker.

Railways. Steam power was then applied to locomotives and George Stephenson (1781-1848) invented the first locomotive for hauling coal over iron rails. It moved at a speed of three miles an hour. Gradually it was improved and by 1823 a locomotive factory was established at Newcastle and beginnings were made with the introduction of railways. At the opening of the Liverpool-Manchester Railway, the locomotive moved at an imposing speed of 30 miles an hour! It was a tremendous improvement on the first venture. The invention of the locomotive and the introduction of railways were a great boon to mankind. It now became possible to transport goods more speedily and cheaply from one part of the country to another. Travelling by rail replaced to a large degree the era of travelling by coach. It was cheaper and far more comfortable. Gradually a network of railways covered the whole country.

Steam Boats. The motive power of steam was also applied to transport by sea and in 1807 a steam boat constructed by Fulton (an American) sailed from New York to Albany, a distance of 150 miles in 32 hours. Soon steam navigation replaced the oars and sails. The *Great Western*, the first big steam ship, sailed from Bristol to New York in 15 days!

Side by side with developments in the cotton industry, mining and transport, great strides were made in printing and paper

making. The *London Times* in 1814 began to use the new iron printing press.

B. *The Second Phase (1830-70)*

The age of steam and of coal and iron had come to stay. During this period the Industrial Revolution progressed rapidly and spread to the continent and to the United States of America.

Three factors were primarily responsible for its rapid expansion, namely, the rise of industrial capital, the emergence of a class of technicians popularly known as engineers and the discoveries and inventions of scientists.

The lucrative cotton trade had been primarily responsible for multiplying the gains of the industrialists. The more money they invested in industrial enterprises, the more profits they reaped. And so industrial capital continued to increase. As the Industrial Revolution progressed, machinery became more and more complicated and expensive and it was beyond the financial resources of a single individual to instal factories. So there was need for co-operative effort. Hence there sprang up Corporations and Limited Companies, in which thousands of people invested their money in the hope of gaining good dividends. The system of Individual Industrial Proprietorship yielded place to Joint-stock Companies and Managing Directorships. The exigencies of the Industrial Revolution demanded the services of engineers to man the new machines, and to invent new ones to keep pace with the demands for greater production. By 1828, the Civil Engineers' Society had been founded in London. Specialization in industry required a variety of engineers, such as mechanical, mining, road, marine, electrical engineers, etc. They built up new industries and improved the old ones and contributed a good deal to greater production. England became the workshop of the world. English industrial capital and English engineers sought new avenues of investment and work in foreign countries, and companies with English capital and English technicians were floated in large numbers in many foreign countries. The benefits of the English Industrial Revolution were spread far and wide, not only to further enrich England but to provide employment to millions of workers in other countries and to raise their standard of living.

A more and more complicated industrial machinery could only thrive on the inventions and discoveries of scientists.

Scientific invention had to be the handmaid of industries and in larger and larger degree it was applied to machinery. Progress in scientific invention benefited the development of the Industrial Revolution proportionately.

Davy's safety lamp was a boon to miners. Faraday's invention of electroplating of iron plates with nickel stopped rusting and increased the life of machines; Siemen's dynamo supplemented steam power; Bunsen's electric lighting made life more cheerful and Kelvin enabled submarine cables to be laid between America and England. These were certainly landmarks in industrial development.

More was yet to follow. Clement's planing machine, Nasmyth's steam hammer and machine for cutting grooves in metal; Robert's drilling machine and the "Bessemer" and "Siemen" processes for large-scale conversion of iron into steel further revolutionized and expanded industry. The cotton and woollen industries became more and more mechanized.

The expansion of railways and steam navigation too did not lag behind. Compared with only 49 miles of railways in 1830, England could in 1870 take pride in 15,300 miles of railways. The expansion of railways continued till all parts of the country were inter-linked with one another. The expansion of steam-navigation was equally phenomenal and steam ships could now, without fear, cross the Atlantic and other seas. Steamship companies like the Cunard Lines were inaugurated.

Side by side with the major steel industries a variety of other industries like building, furniture making, laundering, brewing and shoe-making also made tremendous progress. Food preservation, canning industry, gas lighting and heating and a number of electrical appliances provided further amenities to the people. The invention of the telegraph by Wheatstone and Morse made transmission of news from one place to another quicker and cheaper and enabled the newspaper industry to publish the news of the world.

Rubber and petroleum industries also expanded tremendously. Rubber pipes, tyres and washers were available in large quantities and Charles Good Year invented the process of vulcanization. Petroleum products, like crude oils, lubricants, paraffin wax, kerosene oil proved of immense value to man and industry.

The industrial development also led to improved weapons of

warfare. The old flint-lock muskets were substituted by breech-loading grooved rifles whose striking power was several times greater. Richard Gatling, an American, invented the first machine gun which could fire 350 shots a minute.

Thus we find that the age of coal and iron provided mankind with textile machinery, machines of precision, steel, iron steamships, engines and locomotives, railways, rifles, machine guns, telegraph, telephone, electric appliances, gas, vulcanization, food preservation, etc. All these inventions contributed greatly to increase production, and to enrich people and raise their standard of living.

EFFECTS OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The Industrial Revolution was not all blessings, it had its evils too. We shall now discuss its advantages and disadvantages.

Advantages

(1) **Wide Range of Production through Machines.** As a result of the Industrial Revolution a large variety of articles and goods which were unknown in the centuries preceding the 18th, began to be manufactured in large quantities to satisfy the growing needs of mankind. There was a large output of textiles, iron and coal, machines of various types, agricultural implements, canned food, etc.

(2) **Expansion of Trade.** Increased production was primarily responsible for expansion of trade, both inland and overseas. Articles made in one country found their way into foreign countries and brought in a good deal of wealth to the producers.

(3) **Power-driven Machinery.** So far whatever crude machines there were like the spinning wheel or the loom, were worked by hand and were a great strain on manual labour. The rate of production too was slow, the output meagre and the finished article costly. But the new machines worked by steam power or by oil worked fast and saved time and labour. They produced much more, and more cheaply too.

(4) **Improved Transport.** The rapid industrial development would not have been possible without an equally quick development of the means of transport. Raw materials had to be procured from far off places, even from beyond the seas and finished goods

had to be exported to markets far away. All this was possible only with improved transport. The Industrial Revolution was therefore directly responsible for the construction of tarred roads, the introduction of steam engines, railways and the steamships and the expansion of the canal system. The industrial centres were linked with business centres by sea, by road and by rail. The new highways, railways and steamboats not only carried goods safely and quickly from one part of the world to another, but at the same time provided comfortable travelling to the people.

(5) **Employment to Millions of People.** The substitution of machines for human power in the beginning hit the workers very adversely, because one machine could do the work of several people. There was therefore a grave danger of thousands of people becoming idle for good. But this was only a temporary phase. As more factories and mills were constructed, the demand for workers went up and the expanded industry absorbed millions of people as workers, labourers, technicians, managers, salesmen etc.

(6) **Rise of Banks and Banking Corporations.** The new industries required a large amount of capital. This was made available by the institution of banks. The banking system was the backbone of the Industrial Revolution because without the proper and timely aid of finance, industrial growth would not have been possible. Just as banks came to the rescue of industry, they were equally helpful to commerce. Banks began to advance loans to commercial and industrial magnates on the security of their goods or factories. Transactions through banks facilitated commerce and, at the same time, ensured the financial security of the business deal.

(7) **Rise in the Standard of Living—Social Amenities.** The age of iron and coal brought a good deal of misery and squalor for the workers at the beginning. They were huddled together in overcrowded, unplanned factories and towns in unsanitary conditions. But as industries developed, social and economic legislation was passed by the government to improve the conditions of the workers. Industrial progress provided a multitude of amenities like gas for domestic purposes, running hot and cold water, street lighting, better houses and furniture, more convenient and safer means of travelling, hygienic food, better means to fight diseases etc. These have helped mankind to live in greater ease and comfort and have lengthened the span of life in the West.

(8) **Improved Agriculture.** The Industrial Revolution had its impact on agriculture as well, as some of the inventions included agricultural machines. Mechanical ploughs, cultivators, drills threshers etc., considerably reduced the labour and time of the farmers and performed better work. The net result was larger production, more food and greater prosperity.

Disadvantages

In the early stages of the Industrial Revolution the disadvantages far outweighed the advantages and it appeared that it would bring nothing but misery to thousands of people.

(1) **Rise of Unplanned Industrial towns.** The Industrial Revolution gave rise to a number of industrial towns in the North of England where iron and coal were in plenty. Unfortunately their development was most unplanned and unsatisfactory. In the factories themselves men and machines were crowded together and outside the factories, the tenements of the workers grew like mushrooms without any plan. The overcrowded towns lacked even the barest sanitary amenities. They were smoky, filthy and unhealthy. Workers living in such unhygienic municipal conditions were condemned to ill health and disease. In addition to this, the living together of men and women in these small dark 'dungeons' led to several moral vices. For want of better recreation the tired industrial worker fell a victim to the evil of drinking. The government was faced with many municipal and social problems and had to pass a good deal of legislation to bring about better living conditions and to control the social vices.

(2) **Migration of Workers on a Mass Scale.** Thousands of agricultural workers who were now without work on account of the Agrarian Revolution and the "Enclosure" movement left their homes in the agricultural South for the industrial North in the hope of finding employment in factories. Their mass exodus caused them untold miseries and hardships. Uprooted from their ancestral homes, they found the living conditions in the industrial towns absolutely unfit for human beings.

(3) **Employment of Women and Children.** The industrial capitalists found it more profitable to employ women and young children in their factories for two reasons. Firstly, they were easier to control than men and, secondly, they could be employed on lower wages. This exploitation of the helpless workers resulted

in the unemployment of many more and quite often women and children were the bread-winners of a family. Long hours of work in insanitary conditions affected their health. Later, the government had to pass laws forbidding the employment of women and children in hazardous industrial enterprises where their health was likely to be undermined.

(4) **Insecurity of Work.** The number of workers who had flocked to industrial towns considerably outnumbered the total number of jobs available in factories. Consequently, many of them remained unemployed. This led to the undesirable and unhealthy practice of underselling themselves in order to seek employment. The problem of unemployment of men was further aggravated by the employment of women and children on lower wages. Moreover, the industrial workers or proletariat were employed on daily wages, and if on account of illness or otherwise they could not attend the factory on a particular day they lost their daily wage. All these factors led to grave insecurity of service. Then again there was no provision for old age or the system of Insurance against unemployment and the poor workers did not know what was in store for them in the future.

(5) **Monotony of Work.** When industry was in the "domestic" stage there was a good deal of variety of work for a worker. He completed all the processes of manufacture himself and change from one process to another provided recreation for him. For example, a shoe maker would cure and tan the skin and would cut the "upper" and the sole and finish the entire job of making the shoe himself. Under the factory system there was specialization and day after day the worker had to handle the same machine and, consequently, the work became monotonous and uninteresting and the worker felt bored.

On the other hand, it could not be denied that specialization led to greater dexterity and skilfulness.

(6) **Extreme Poverty of the Masses—Great Disparity between the Capitalists and Labourers.** Notwithstanding the fact that the factory owners and big industrialists made enormous fortunes and lived in luxury, the workers still remained miserably poor. Their wages were small and they still lived in abominable conditions. The disparity between the living standards of the capitalists and workers was great.

The exploitation of the workers on whose sweat the capitalists

amassed their vast wealth was complete. The workers did not know yet how to improve their lot. They were not united and were not acquainted with the power of the Trade Unions. It was only with the rise of Socialism in the middle of the 19th century that the factory workers asserted their rights and launched the Chartist movement claiming better conditions of work and higher wages. This has resulted in a perennial strife between capital and labour. Progressive countries, by a series of social and economic laws, have certainly improved the lot of the workers, but the disparity between the owners of capital and labour continues and the dispute has not ended yet. We often hear of strikes and lockouts in industrial concerns. It is still premature to say the industrial dispute between capital and labour can only be solved by the acceptance of communism as the basis of society and Government.

(7) **The need for Parliamentary Reforms.** As a result of the exodus of workers from the south of England to the new, industrial townships, quite a few villages in the south declined to the status of "rotten" boroughs. They were so called because they still sent representatives to Parliament though they had few or no inhabitants whereas the new industrial towns were unrepresented. There was a great outcry for disfranchising the deserted villages and for enfranchising the industrial towns. In 1832, Parliament had to pass the First Reform Bill to remove such discrepancies in the teeth of bitter opposition from the big landlords who constituted a large majority of the "Conservative" party. They controlled the rotten boroughs and feared that the Bill, if passed, would be advantageous to the big industrial magnates of the rival "Whig" party. Further legislation in this respect had to be passed in 1867 and 1885 and only then did the majority of workers get the right to vote.

Taking into account the advantages and disadvantages it can be said that, "the immediate economic effects of the Industrial Revolution were, on the one hand, to add enormously to English wealth and capital and, on the other hand, to degrade the English masses, enlarging the urban proletariat and holding it to poverty as a permanent condition".

But, at the same time, it must be remembered that man's effort to conquer nature and "make it serve his ends" had made a fair beginning.

Chapter 3

CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

WHEN LOUIS XIV was on his death-bed, he had recognized the inefficacy of war as a means to realize his aims. He had, in the process of achieving his ambitions, involved France in a series of wars, had taxed his people to their utmost capacity and had drained away the wealth of the nation and had brought untold misery to them. So when he was nearing his end he called in his great-grandson, the future Louis XV (1715-74), and advised him to take a lesson from his failures, and not to wage any more wars and to relieve the people from the burden of taxation. But his advice was unheeded both by Louis XV and his successor Louis XVI and gradually the political, social and economic conditions so degenerated that the situation got out of control and precipitated a great Revolution which brought untold misery to millions of people and uprooted numerous families and was, calamitous to the monarchy, society and political institutions and which involved France in long and bloody wars.

WHY THE REVOLUTION OCCURRED IN FRANCE

It was not that the social and economic conditions in France alone were bad; it was not the French peasant only who was exploited by the rich nobles and the monarchy; it was not he alone who, groaned under heavy taxation and suffered from want and starvation. Yet again, it was not only in France that political power was denied to the masses. The political, social and economic conditions all over Europe were more or less the same. If anything, the French peasant enjoyed more rights than the peasants elsewhere in Europe, with the exception of Great Britain; he was socially and economically far better off than his counterpart elsewhere. By and large, serfdom had been practically abolished

in France. Yet, why was it that the French peasant rose in a grand revolution against the existing order.

There were several reasons why the Revolution originated in France and why France spread the Revolutionary gospel to other European countries.

(1) **Cultural Leadership of France.** Firstly, France was the intellectual and cultural centre of Europe. French language, literature, drama, art, manners, and her form of government were models for the rest of Europe. To be called "civilized" one had to know the French language and culture. Foreign kings imitated the court at Versailles and imported French culture into their countries. Hence culturally France was the leader of Europe.

(2) **Influence of French Philosophers.** France produced a galaxy of philosophers, historians and political scientists whose powerful writings had a hypnotic effect not only on the French people, but on all the people of Europe. Voltaire and Rousseau swayed the minds of millions of people, the former by his satire and caustic criticism of the existing order of society, the latter by his new ideas of "People's Rights". These "enlightened" French philosophers wielded a very wide and deep influence on the down-trodden people of Europe who were awakened from their slumber and sloth to realize their misfortunes and the causes thereof, and to demand justice from the State, society and the Church.

(3) **French Bourgeoisie "Enlightened" and Influential.** The French middle class, the "bourgeoisie", had during the last two centuries emerged as a wealthy enlightened class of people on account of their enterprise in trade and industry. They belonged to the so-called underprivileged class, and being enlightened, they were aware of the grave social inequalities and clamoured for reform. They were the real leaders of the Revolution in France. In other countries of Europe, this class either did not exist or was not so numerous and vociferous in its demands.

(4) **French Peasants better off than other European Peasants.** Socially and economically, the French peasant was comparatively far better off than the peasants elsewhere, because he had been emancipated and, by and large, serfdom had become extinct in France. Being freer and economically better off, he reacted very strongly to social and economic injustice and demanded his rights when the opportune moment arrived.

(5) **Incapacity of the French Monarchy.** European rulers in the latter half of the 18th century were mostly "enlightened". They extended their patronage to the Intellectual Revolution. They were deeply moved by the spirit of the Age of "reason" and "reform" and they advocated and tried to carry out reforms in their own way in their respective States. They were leaders of men. Frederick the Great of Prussia, Maria Theresa and Joseph II of Austria and Catherine the Great of Russia were all enlightened rulers, trying to do good to their respective countries. But it was not so with the French monarchy. Both Louis XV and Louis XVI were utterly incompetent, given to pleasure and, luxury. They did not know the real condition in their country and by their inaction allowed things to drift, till they found themselves swept away by the Revolution.

(6) **Financial Bankruptcy of France.** Perhaps no other country in Europe was financially in such a ruined state as France. The long wars of Louis XV and the extravagance of his court had taken the country to the verge of bankruptcy. The government could not find money to meet its expenses, it could not persuade the nobles to shed their privileges and allow themselves to be taxed. And so, the financial crisis deepened further and further, and together with it developed the problem of food. Bread riots in Paris and other parts of France added to the financial confusion and precipitated the Revolution. Thus we find that the French soil was fertile enough to germinate the seeds of a Revolution based on the political philosophy of Rousseau.

THE CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

Let us now discuss the causes of the French Revolution. For the sake of convenience we shall divide them into four categories, Social, Political, Intellectual and Financial.

A. *Social Causes*

France was divided into three "Estates" or classes: the clergy, the nobles, and the commoners. The first two were called the "privileged" classes and the third was the underprivileged class.

(1) **Privileges of the Clergy.** The privileges of the clergy, or the First Estate, dated back to the medieval times when the Church was supposed to be the guardian of the "souls" of people

and looked after their education and tended the weak and the invalid. In lieu of "spiritual" service the clergymen were granted large estates and the Church owned a good deal of landed property. In addition, the Church had a large income from tithes, religious courts, gifts, etc. Though in the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries the name of the Church had suffered much on account of the corruption and vices of the clergymen and the consequent Reformation movement, yet the clergymen in the 18th century still enjoyed their old privileges and influence. Quite often, dissipated sons of nobles with hardly any ecclesiastical knowledge were nominated as bishops or abbots to enable them to live in luxury. To others who wished to achieve position and influence, the Church was the only avenue for achieving this, and ambitious people joined the religious order. In social and political matters the clergymen always made common cause with the nobles and all attempts to impose taxes on them were resisted bitterly.

(2) **Privileges of the Nobles.** The nobles in France, who constituted the Second Estate, formed a hereditary caste and, unlike England, the sons of the French nobles kept themselves aloof from the commoners and were very jealous of their rights. They enjoyed a number of privileges which dated back to the heydays of feudalism and though Richelieu and Mazarin had deprived them of much of their political power, their privileges were still intact. They owned large castles, and painted their coats of arms on their carriages and forced the masses to treat them with great respect. Often they monopolized trade and commerce and were extremely rich and lived in grand style. They did not pay any direct taxes and were exempted from a number of indirect ones. They levied their "dues" on the peasantry living on their estates and claimed exclusive hunting, shooting and fishing rights. They would ride through the fields of the peasants in pursuit of "shikar" and the latter could not even protest. The tenants on the estate had to use the lord's mill, his slaughter house, oven, wine press and had to pay for their use. The nobles were also exempted from compulsory military service, and "corvee" (labour service).

The nobles could be classified into big nobles and lesser nobles. The former usually lived at court and vied with one another in leading a luxurious and licentious life and in trying to win the king's favour. They were, therefore, absentee landlords and their tyrannical bailiffs who looked after their estates in their

absence were far more cruel than they themselves, in exacting the dues from the peasantry. The more money they could fleece, the greater was their own share. They perpetrated all sorts of atrocities on the helpless peasants who could not even appeal to the nobles against them. Thus the gulf between the nobles and the masses grew wider and wider as the years rolled by and neither the nobles nor the king who mostly lived at Versailles and was busy with his gay and luxurious pursuits at court, were acquainted with the true political or economic conditions in the countryside. The fire of popular discontent against the king and the nobles kept on smouldering in the provinces before it was fanned by the awakening caused by the intellectual philosophers of the 18th century France and by the upsurge of the hungry and starved population.

The lesser nobles mostly lived an idle, gay and purposeless life on their estates and contributed very little to the economic or political progress of the country. They were satisfied with an easygoing life, enjoyed shooting and hunting, but shirked hard work to improve agriculture or industry. Yet they too claimed the same privileges as the big nobles and were exempted from taxation or other burdens under which the masses groaned.

(3) **The Miseries of the Masses.** The masses who comprised the Third Estate, were composed of peasants and the new middle class—"bourgeoisie"—both belonged to the underprivileged classes.

(a) *The Peasants.* The peasants or the commoners were subjected to "triple taxation": they paid taxes to the king, to the nobles and to the clergy. The king claimed both direct and indirect taxes. The direct taxes comprised the "taille" or the land tax, a poll tax per head, and income tax which amounted to one-twentieth of the peasant's income. The State's share of the "taille" was not fixed and was arbitrarily adjudged by the fleecing and cruel tax-collectors, according to the economic standards of the individual peasant. Therefore, there was a tendency among them to live very frugally and to make no improvements in their standard of living.

The indirect taxes comprised salt tax, or "gabelle", customs and excise duties and "corvee" or forced labour on the roads. The bulk of the king's income or State revenue was derived from the masses.

In addition, the unmarried peasants had to do compulsory military service. To avoid this the custom of early marriage became pretty common.

The nobles too claimed a number of dues. Though serfdom had practically been extinct in France and the peasants could own lands, the old economic conditions and dues still persisted. The peasants had to use the lord's oven, wine press, slaughter house and pay for their use. He had to work on the lord's estate three days a week or in lieu of it he had to pay "quit rent". On succession to his father's land he had to pay double rent to the lord. If he sold the land, the share of the lord amounted to one-fifth of the value received.

Moreover the peasants were subjected to a number of indignities and for the slightest show of disrespect to the noble or his family, severe punishments were inflicted on them.

The Church too claimed its share from the common man in the form of tithe.

(b) *The Rise of the Bourgeoisie.* A new "middle" class had steadily emerged through the last two or three centuries. It consisted mostly of the "bourgeoisie" or "townspeople" who controlled commerce and industries and worked for a living in some profession or the other. They mostly controlled all industry through guilds. They had become fairly rich on account of their overseas trade in tobacco, wine, spices, tea, coffee and cotton with the colonies and quite a few of them could compete very favourably in wealth with the nobles.

But they belonged to the underprivileged class and were subject to taxation. They were extremely enlightened people and were the centre of all intellectual activity in the State. Being intellectually far superior to the nobility, they felt the social and economic inequalities all the more and agitated for reforms. They attacked the privileges of the nobles and were in sympathy with the peasants. They were inspired by the French philosophers and the successful revolt of the American colonies against Great Britain and by their "Declaration of Independence". Why could they not claim the same rights and draft a new democratic constitution for France? They formed a very dynamic and influential section of the Third Estate and were later on in the forefront of the Revolution when it broke out in 1789.

B. *Economic Causes*

Though there had been considerable economic and agricultural development in the 17th century under Richelieu and Colbert,

agriculture was still backward, and quite often there were famines and food riots.

Industry was mostly controlled by guilds but was hampered by internal barriers and too much official interference. The Industrial Revolution was still in its infancy though a large number of industrial towns had sprung up. Paris was the biggest industrial centre. Capitalism, and the conflict of labour and capital, had not taken very deep roots in the country yet.

C. *Political Causes*

(1) **Degeneration of the Monarchy.** Political conditions after Louis XIV were far from happy. The monarchy though still absolute had degenerated in many respects. Louis XV was an easy-going, pleasure-loving monarch whose court was steeped in immorality and licentiousness. He was deeply under the influence of mistresses like Madame de Pompadour who was responsible for the Austrian alliance in 1756 and all its evil results in terms of the loss of colonies and foreign commerce and prestige. Louis XV was utterly incompetent, yet he would not let his ministers have their way and impeded the scheme of Choiseul, his ablest minister in the Seven Years' War.

Louis XVI who succeeded him in 1774 was weak-willed, though religious, pious, kind and moral. He lacked all those qualities of leadership and kingship which were required at this crucial time in the history of France, when the king was faced with a grave financial and political crisis. He was too much under the influence of his young and beautiful queen, the Austrian princess, Marie Antoinette, who was intensely hated by the French people because she was a "foreigner". She had no love for the French people and was extravagant and unsympathetic. While France was passing through a serious financial crisis and was faced with the problem of food, she was lavishly spending money on her pleasures and was absolutely unconcerned about the miseries of the people. If ministers tried to control the court expenditure, they were dismissed. She, therefore, had made herself extremely unpopular. The inefficient king was a mere tool in her hands and could not over-rule her.

The monarchy was, in short, incompetent and utterly unable to solve the question of the nobles' privileges and the problem of food and thus allowed the political condition to drift and deteriorate.

(2) **Centralized Government.** The administration had been highly centralized in the 17th century and continued to be so in the 18th. Everything in the State was decided by the Council at Versailles which had hardly any time to devote to the affairs of the State. It was terribly overburdened with work and so the business was allowed to accumulate and, quite often, by the time the Council took action the political condition had changed and the orders passed by it were ineffective. Too much centralization had deprived the local officials of all initiative and unnecessary delay was caused by references to the central government even over trivial matters.

(3) **Administrative and Legal Confusion.** To make matters still worse there was a good deal of administrative and legal confusion. The power of the local officials and institutions like bailiffs, intendants, Parlements were not clearly defined and often there were clashes among them. References had to be made to the central government which inordinately delayed in giving its rulings. Laws were not uniform and differed from town to town and hence there was a good deal of further confusion.

(4) **Absence of National Representative Institutions.** In France there was no national institution like the English Parliament, to represent the views and feelings of the people or to help the monarchy in raising taxes or making laws. Thus the king was completely ignorant of the conditions in the country and of the true state of public opinion. There was no institution by which he could gauge the nation's "temper". The "Parlements" of Paris and of other cities were mere judicial bodies and represented nobody. No doubt the "Parlements" had acquired in the course of centuries the right to register the king's decrees and no edict was valid unless it had been put down in the statute book by it. They had also refused to register certain edicts in the past and on such occasions kings had personally appealed to them and were invariably successful. There were sometimes clashes between the king and the Parlement of Paris. "Fronde" in the 17th century was one of them but the Parlements had only a negative check on the power of the monarchy. They did not play a positive role in the political life of France because they did not have the power to legislate or to raise taxes.

There was another medieval institution called the States-General, an assembly of the Three Estates. But it had not met since 1614.

Moreover, it too did not have power to legislate or to raise taxes. It was summoned rarely by the King for consultation and for approval of his policies in times of grave national crisis. It did not have the power to oppose his schemes or to suggest new ones in their stead. Whenever it met, it met in three bodies separately—the nobles, the clergy and the commoners. They deliberated and voted separately and the vote of the two Estates could outweigh the vote of the third. So whenever there was a proposal to tax the “privileged” classes, the nobles and the clergy opposed it and the Third Estate found itself in a minority.

The States-General was not a representative institution of the nation. It was deeply conservative and reactionary and was mostly dominated by the nobility and the clergy. Instead of being a help in solving the national problems it was likely to make them more complicated on account of the intransigence of the privileged classes.

(5) **Influence of the American Revolution.** The revolt of the American colonies against Great Britain (1776–83) had made a tremendous impact on the minds of the Frenchmen. France had joined the colonies against England in the War of American Independence and French soldiers under Lafayette had fought in America and defeated the English. The success of the revolt of the colonies and their Declaration of Independence and subsequent adoption of a new constitution based on the principles of equality and liberty and on the principle of the separation of powers as enunciated by Montesquieu, deeply influenced the French soldiers returning home after the war and the French people through them. If the American colonists could break away from the traditional shackles why could the people of France not do the same? The American Revolt was therefore a great source of strength and inspiration to the French Reformers.

D. *Intellectual Causes—the Influence of French Philosophers*

In spite of the Reformation movement launched by Martin Luther in the 16th century, the Church continued to suffer from several vices and its hold on the masses was still very great. The doctrines of the Church were consequently further assailed and ridiculed by intellectual philosophers like Voltaire and Diderot.

The 18th century was an “Age of Reason” and witnessed a good deal of intellectual activity. It was an age of “enlighten-

ment" and its special characteristics were Scepticism, Rationalism, Deism and Humanism. A galaxy of philosophers criticized the existing order of things in society, State and the Church and tried to find the "rational" basis of old traditions and institutions. They came to the conclusion that these had no "reason" behind them. Their probe into the religious dogmas and doctrines also convinced them that quite a large number of them could not be substantiated by reason. Hence a new religious philosophy known as "Deism" emerged. The Deists did not deny the existence of God, but they questioned some of the established Christian beliefs, like the "Virgin birth" or the "Resurrection" and found no rational explanation for them. Their chief target of attack was the Church which formed the basis of the then existing society, with its social and political inequalities, and which by supporting the doctrine of Divine Right of Kings interfered in politics. If people's faith in religion or the Church could be shaken, the very foundations of society and State would be undermined. The Church had lost its old purity and the clergymen were neither learned in theology nor were they pious, honest and godly people. A number of vices and evils had crept into the Church and it had suffered in prestige during the Reformation. Now the tirades of the Deist philosophers of France completed the work of Martin Luther and people's blind faith in the old religious traditions and beliefs was shaken to the very foundations. Some even became atheists and denied the very existence of God.

Side by side with Scepticism, Rationalism and Deism, the new philosophers also stood for Humanism. They ardently wanted to improve the lot of the common man who was being exploited by the Church and the State. They advocated a more humanitarian treatment of criminals; they denounced torture and religious persecution. In short, they stood for a fair, humane, and equitable treatment of all members of society.

The writings of the philosophers had a tremendous influence on the minds of the people and created a revolutionary awakening in their minds and formed the intellectual creed of the French Revolution. The common man was now convinced that the Church and the State had made an unholy alliance to exploit him and so both of them should be revolutionized.

In creating this intellectual awakening in France the following philosophers played a notable part.

(a) **Voltaire (1694-1778)**. He was a great philosopher, historian, poet, dramatist and satirist of his age and was very widely known. He was a personal friend of Frederick the Great of Prussia and Catherine the Great of Russia. He was deeply influenced by the Deistic philosophy and launched a tirade against the Church and the clergy. His weapons were scepticism and wit. He ridiculed the Church by means of his sarcasm and satire, and completely shook people's faith in it. By undermining their faith in the Church, he indirectly undermined their faith in the theory of the Divine Right of Kings. In religion, he advocated toleration, but he did not have any constructive suggestion for the reorganization of society. His was essentially a destructive philosophy aiming at the destruction of all old institutions and traditions which could not be justified by reason. His writings had a tremendous effect on millions of people not only in France but in the whole of Europe.

(b) **Montesquieu (1689-1755)**. He was more of a political philosopher than a Deist. He was deeply influenced by the English culture and political institutions. He attributed the comparative happiness and prosperity of the English people to their liberal constitution and advocated the adoption of similar institutions in France. He wrote his famous book the *Spirit of the Laws* after visiting England and studying British institutions at close quarters. He ardently supported the principle of the Separation of Powers, i.e., the independence of the three organs of the State, the Executive, Legislature and Judiciary, from one another. He misinterpreted the English constitution, where no doubt the judiciary was independent yet the other two organs were dependent on each other. Nevertheless he had made an original contribution to Political Science and the Americans adopted his ideas when they drafted their constitution and incorporated the principle of the Separation of Powers in it.

(c) **The Encyclopaedists**. A number of French philosophers compiled a huge encyclopaedia in seventeen volumes containing the entire store of human knowledge in all subjects. It reflected the scepticism and rationalism of the "enlightened" age and many of the encyclopaedists were either Deists or atheists. Of these Diderot, d' Alembert and Holback had a tremendous influence on the minds of the people, and were responsible for a good deal of political awakening.

(d) **Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778)**. Of all these enlightened philosophers Jean Jacques Rousseau was certainly the prince. He has been rightly called "the prophet of the Revolution". Born in Geneva but a Frenchman by race, he settled in Paris and was frequently invited to 'salons', the meeting place of the philosophers and intellectuals. His private life was miserable and he was a very maladjusted man. But his writings made a profound impact on the minds of the people. He was not only a revolutionary in the sense that he wanted to wreck the existing political institutions; he was also a constructive thinker.

In his book *Social Contract* he analysed the causes of the ills of society. According to him man originally lived in a "State of Nature" which was extremely blissful. All men were free and enjoyed equality and liberty. But under the influence of a wealthy few who wanted to safeguard their vested interests, they made a "social contract" which formed the basis of the government. This "contract" was the root cause of all human misery; it gave the strong and the rich an opportunity to exploit the poor and the weak. It was the real basis of social inequality. Hence people should break this contract and go back to the "State of Nature" and claim their original rights of liberty and equality. He said, "Man was born free, but everywhere I find him in chains". So "Back to Nature" was his "constant cry". If men had the right to make the "contract" to establish a government they certainly had the right to break it and to replace the government if it was not just and fair. He believed that the sovereignty of the State depended on the will of the people and not on the Divine Right of Kings or the theory of "force". The people had the right to revolt and overthrow a corrupt government. In this respect, he contributed to the popular notion of modern democracy and gave the French Revolutionaries their famous slogan of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity".

His greatest contribution, therefore, to the existing political philosophy was the conception of democracy based on the superiority of the people's "will" over the monarch and the nobility.

It was this democratic conception which dominated the earlier course of the French Revolution.

The intellectual enlightened philosophers had thus prepared the ground for a national revolution by creating national 'awakening' among the people.

E. *Financial Causes*

The finances of France were in a deplorable state. Whatever had been saved by Colbert had been drained away by the ambitious wars of Louis XIV. Under Louis XV and Louis XVI, the financial confusion went on deepening. The wars and luxuries of the court meant a heavy drain on the resources of the State and the kings would not mend their ways to cut down the "court" expenditure. They regarded the National Income as their "personal income". There was no proper system of budgeting or accounting, or auditing. The King spent it as he wished.

The common people bore the brunt of taxation. They paid direct and indirect taxes to the King, they paid their "dues" to the nobles and the "tithe" to the Church. They had already been bled white by taxation and they could pay no more. Almost over fifty per cent of their income was snatched away in taxation. They virtually faced starvation and death.

The other source of income of the State was loans. Already the State was heavily in debt and the financiers were not willing to advance any further loans.

The financial crisis, therefore, deepened. On the one hand, the expenses of the State on wars and luxuries went on mounting; on the other, its resources were limited and had already been completely drained.

How was the financial problem to be solved if the country was to be saved from utter bankruptcy?

There was only one alternative. It was to persuade the fabulously rich nobles of France to surrender their ancient privileges and subject themselves to taxation. If they agreed, not only would the expenditure and income balance, but there would be a good deal of surplus. But the crux of the problem was: would they rise to the occasion and realize the urgency of the situation; would they be patriotic enough to agree to be taxed; and would the inefficient and weak monarchy have the courage to force them to shed their privileges?

Unfortunately both the King and the nobles failed to appreciate the gravity of the financial crisis and did not realize that if the Ship of State foundered on the rock of financial bankruptcy, the nobles would also sink along with the monarch. The nobles remained adamant, and the King continued to vacillate. Minister after minister was appointed to improve the financial condition

but without the co-operation of the King and the nobles the crisis continued to deepen. A brief survey of the finance ministers and of the steps they took to solve the financial crisis may now be made.

(1) **Turgot as Finance Minister (1774-76)**. Louis XVI (1774-92) appointed Turgot as his Finance Minister. Hopes rose high, as he was a friend of Voltaire who wielded considerable emotional influence on the people. He proposed to abolish the guilds and to introduce free corn trade. But he was strongly opposed by the nobles and the clergy and so was dismissed in 1776.

(2) **Jacques Necker (1776-81)**. He was a great banker and financier and enjoyed the confidence of the "moneyed class" of France. But as he was a Protestant he was hated by the nobles. Yet he succeeded in raising a loan to enable France to fight against Great Britain in the War of American Independence. He also carried out several fiscal reforms. He wanted to convince the rich people that the State was not heading for a financial crash and that it had several potential sources of income. He issued a pamphlet entitled "Accounts rendered of the Financial Condition". It mentioned the sources of income but at the same time it drew the attention of the masses to the colossal expenditure at court. There was a hue and cry by the masses against this huge wastage. This roused the Queen's hostility and Marie Antoinette persuaded the weak and inefficient King to dismiss him.

(3) **Calonne (1783-87)**. He was appointed Finance Minister in 1783 and proposed to tax the nobles. There was no other alternative to save France from bankruptcy. He warned the nobles of the impending catastrophe, but the latter would not surrender their privileges. On his advice the King invited a meeting of the Assembly of the Notables to meet in 1787. But instead of solving the financial crisis its recommendations were as follows:

- (i) Nobles should *not* be taxed.
- (ii) "Corvée" or forced labour should be abolished.
This was perhaps done to appease the masses.
- (iii) Calonne should be dismissed.
- (iv) The States-General should be summoned to solve the question of taxation.

(4) **Lomenie de Brienne (1787)**. He succeeded Calonne. During his stewardship a quarrel arose between the monarchy

and the Parlement of Paris which refused to register edicts regarding loans and taxes. The Parlement was supported by the general public and there was a loud demand for the meeting of the States-General. The Parlement was abolished, but Brienne was also dismissed.

(5) **Necker.** He was reappointed Finance Minister in 1788. But the situation was now so grave and fraught with such potentialities that the King had to agree to the popular demand for summoning the States-General.

(6) **The States-General (1789).** The King decided to summon this medieval institution which had not met since 1614. The States-General was an assembly of the three Estates, the nobles, the clergy and the commoners. Whenever it was summoned, the three Estates met, deliberated and voted separately and the votes of any two Estates could outweigh the votes of the third, irrespective of the strength of each Estate. Thus in the past it always happened that the clergy and the nobles voted together against the masses. The States-General was not a legislature, nor did it represent the nation as a whole. It used to be summoned by the King for consultation on grave national issues and its decisions were only advisory and not binding.

Since it was being summoned after a lapse of 174 years there was a good deal of discussion about its composition. After heated debates and discussions it was agreed that the number of the Third Estate would be equal to the combined strength of the nobles and the clergy, i.e., for each representative of the nobles and the clergy there would be two representatives of the commoners.

It was also stipulated that the voters in each province could submit their suggestions for reform or "Cahiers" for the consideration of the King. A large number of these "Cahiers" reached the King and practically all of them were unanimous in supporting a monarchical form of government and in demanding reforms and abolishing inequalities. Most of them suggested that taxes should not be levied without consent and the *taille* should be abolished.

It was under these circumstances and conditions that the elections to the States-General were held. It met in May, 1789 in an atmosphere of feverish popular excitement. Unfortunately the King had no programme for the meetings of the States-General and as soon as it met, two very grave issues raised their head.

- (a) The Third Estate demanded a joint session of all the three Estates. In the past they had sat separately.
- (b) The Third Estate also demanded "voting by Heads" and *not* "by order", i.e., the three Estates should not vote separately, but that all the Estates should vote together and the majority decision should be final and binding.

In the past, the three Estates had sat separately and voted "by order". If there was common voting now the Third Estate whose number was doubled would naturally outvote the first two Estates, particularly when a few nobles and clergymen also supported its demand.

The dispute developed into a national crisis, and some progressive representatives of the nobles and the clergy also, supported the demands of the Third Estate. The King wavered and vacillated in the beginning and then threatened to use force.

But the Third Estate was adamant and on 10 June 1789 it proclaimed itself a "National Assembly" and invited the other two Estates to join it.

The King opposed this move and shut the doors of the Hall where the meeting of the Third Estate was to be held. So, surrounded by an excited Parisian mob the Third Estate held a meeting outside the hall on a tennis court and by the Oath of the Tennis Court (20 June 1789) they decided that they would not disperse till a new constitution had been drafted. This was the beginning of the popular revolt against legal authority.

The King was frightened into submission and ordered that the three Estates should sit together and vote "by head". Behind his outward submission, he was scheming to crush the Assembly and mob violence by force and under pressure of his courtiers, he dismissed Necker. This was a fatal mistake, because Necker was popular with the people and they had hoped that he would be able to solve the financial as well as the food problem. The Paris mob was infuriated and on the 14th of July stormed the 'Bastille', the symbol of "Bourbon Despotism". This was hailed as the end of Absolutism and marked the beginning of the great French Revolution.

The 14th of July has been celebrated as the National Day by the French ever since.

Chapter 4

THE COURSE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

IT WILL be easier for the student to study the course of the French Revolution under each governing political institution, for during its course several constitutional experiments were carried out.

A. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (1789-91)

The salient features of the Revolution during this period were as under:

- (1) Political struggle between the King and the National Assembly;
- (2) The destruction of the Ancien Regime; and
- (3) A new constitutional experiment.

(1) *Political Struggle and Anarchy*

The States-General met at Versailles in an atmosphere of intense tension and excitement. Its deliberations were, to a large extent, controlled by the fury of the Paris mob. After the storming of the Bastille, civil authority broke down completely in Paris and power was captured by the Paris "Commune" which was now the real master of the situation.

The Paris Commune identified itself with the interests of the National Assembly and raised a National Guard under Lafayette to protect national property and to uphold its authority.

The National Assembly and mob violence completely overwhelmed the King who was subjected to numerous insults and was forced to recall Necker. A new tricolour flag was adopted.

Women's march to Versailles. But the frustrated King still hoped to crush the violence by calling in the Army from Flanders. The gaiety at Versailles still continued while the people

of Paris were faced with starvation. It was strongly suspected that the King who was still free, might use force against the mob. So on the 5th of October, 1789, a mob of Paris women followed by the National Guard marched to Versailles, threatened violence and forced the King and Queen to return to Paris on the 6th. They were now virtual prisoners of the mob in their palace of Tuileries. The National Assembly also shifted to Paris. The mob violence increased further and the whole of France was in the grip of mob frenzy. The administration completely collapsed all over the country; there was no collection of taxes, and people indulged in hooliganism and looted the property of the nobles. There was complete chaos in France and the King's authority had broken down completely. The nobles began to flee the country. The need of the hour was a strong government.

(2) *The Destruction of the Ancien Regime*

While the political situation in the country was fast degenerating into anarchy and peasants indulged in violence and hooliganism against the nobles, the National Assembly realized the danger of letting lawlessness have the better of their commonsense. Order must be restored somehow, otherwise the country would be ruined. So during its August session (1789) better known as the "August Days" it passed a number of reforms which completely destroyed all emblems of the Ancien Regime.

(a) **Destruction of Feudal Privileges.** All privileges so far enjoyed by the nobles and clergy were abolished. The equality of all men was proclaimed and there were to be no longer any privileged or underprivileged classes in France. The burden of taxation was to be borne by all. The edifice of the centuries old superiority of the Church and Nobility was razed to the ground. Tithes, manorial courts, feudal dues and serfdom were abolished. The game laws were repealed.

(b) **Destruction of the Old Administrative System.** The old system of government by Intendants and Governors and parlements was abolished. A new uniform system was introduced instead. The country was divided into departments, which were further subdivided into districts or cantons and communes. Their administration was entrusted to elected local bodies which replaced the old government officials appointed by the King. The judges too were elected by the popular vote.

(c) **Taxation.** The burden of taxation was evenly divided between the rich and the poor. And in order to meet the financial deficiency paper currency or "assignats" was issued on the security of the Church property which was appropriated by the State.

(d) **Destruction of the Established Church and its Privileges.** The Church had been the hand-maid of the State. Its privileges must also be destroyed, hence the National Assembly took the following steps:

- (i) The Church was subordinated to the State and became a department of the State.
- (ii) The Church property was confiscated.
- (iii) The clergymen were to receive their salary in cash.
- (iv) Bishops and Abbots were to be elected by laymen.
- (v) All privileges of the clergymen were abolished.
- (vi) Nuns and monks were relieved of their vows.
- (vii) All clergymen had to take a vow of allegiance to the "Civil Constitution". Some did but many did not. Thus the clergy was divided into "juring" and "non-juring" clergy. The former took the vow, the latter did not and so a great schism was created in the church and quite a large number of non-juring clergymen who wielded much influence in the country became hostile to the Revolution.

The civil constitution of the clergy was opposed and not recognized by the Pope and was the cause of much antagonism between the Catholic Church and the Revolutionaries.

(e) **Declaration of Rights (27 August 1789).** The National Assembly adopted the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen". It was a recognition of the fundamental rights of man: his right to liberty, equality and property; freedom from arrest and arbitrary imprisonment. This was the "Magna Carta" of the French people.

(3) *The New Constitution*

Under the inspiration of Mirabeau and Sieyes, the National Assembly drew up a new constitution based on the principles of the "sovereignty of the people" and the "separation of powers". Its salient features were:

- (a) Monarchy was retained, but the King was to be a constitutional ruler. And he had no control over the army or the navy.
- (b) The executive authority was vested in the King, and he enjoyed only a "suspensive veto" and not an "absolute veto"; that is, he could postpone action on a measure passed by the Legislature but not veto it altogether.
- (c) The ministers were appointed by the King and were not members of the Legislative Assembly.
- (d) A unicameral Legislature known as the *Legislative Assembly* was to be elected on the basis of "indirect" election and only "active" citizens were granted the right to vote. (The citizens were divided into "active" and "passive" categories; those who paid taxes were called "active", others were "passive".)
- (e) The members of the National Assembly were not allowed to stand for election to the Legislative Assembly. *

The King's Flight and Capture. The King under duress signed the new constitution. He was extremely dissatisfied with the provision of "limited monarchy" and the "civil constitution" of the clergy. In June, 1791, he abrogated the constitution and tried to flee the country with the Queen and his children. He was pursued and overtaken at Varennes on the 21st of June, 1791. His attempted flight and subsequent capture sealed his fate. He was denounced as an enemy of the country, in league with the *emigres* or those nobles who had fled the country and who now were egging foreign countries to invade France.

Conclusion: Gains of the Revolution up to 1791

The sum-total of the achievements of the National Assembly was the destruction of the "old order" and its substitution by a new one based on the principles of nationalism and sovereignty of the people. But the National Assembly alienated the old nobles and the non-juring clergy who now fled the country and sought foreign aid to suppress the Revolution.

* This was a grave blunder because by this "self-denying" provision the Legislative Assembly was deprived of the services of the best men of the country.

The first phase of the Revolution marked the end of absolute monarchy and the introduction of limited monarchy. The King's vacillation, indecision, lack of any guidance of the deliberations of the Estates-General, the influence of Marie Antoinette, and her favourites caused his undoing. Slowly but surely the Estates-General got the upper hand in the struggle between itself and the King. The voting "by head", the Oath of the Tennis Court, the storming of the Bastille and the march of women to Versailles were some of the landmarks in this struggle. The King was to blame for all his miseries and failures. He aligned himself with reactionary elements and could not read the signs of the times and hence fell a victim to popular demands.

B. THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY (1791-92)

The Legislative Assembly was made up of 750 members and was elected under the new constitution and met in October, 1791. By the self-denying ordinance of the National Assembly it had been accepted that no member of it would be eligible for election to the new Legislative Assembly. So it was deprived of the services of experienced politicians. They now pulled the strings and guided its deliberations from without.

The salient features of this period were as follows:

- (1) Quarrel between the King and the Legislative Assembly;
- (2) The activities of the *emigres*; and
- (3) Foreign intervention.

(1) *Quarrel Between the King and the Legislative Assembly*

The Legislative Assembly was mostly composed of two groups of people: the "Feuillants" or "constitutionalists", and the Radicals. The former under Lafayette stood by the constitution of 1791 and supported limited monarchy; the latter wanted to continue the revolution and achieve social and political democracy by abolishing monarchy and making France a Republic. Their leaders were Danton, Marat and Robespierre.

The Legislative Assembly became more and more Republican in character on account of the behaviour of the King and the activities of the *emigres*. And soon there was a tussle between it and the King.

The Legislative Assembly passed decrees confiscating the property of the *emigres* and the non-juring clergy. The King vetoed them. The Legislative Assembly was convinced that the King was secretly in league with the *emigres* and was not loyal to the new constitution.

(2) *Activities of the Emigres*

A large number of nobles led by the Count of Artois, the King's younger brother, had fled the country. They were concentrated in Coblenz on the eastern frontier. They had been egging on their supporters and sympathizers in France to overthrow the new constitution, as well as canvassing European powers to intervene on their behalf and the King's, in order to save the monarchy. The more these *emigres* tried to foment trouble in France, the more radically did the Legislative Assembly react. If the *emigres* succeeded in crushing the Revolution with foreign aid, the "Old Order" would be restored and the entire work of the Revolution would be undone. This fear was a great uniting force and the entire nation combined together to fight the *emigres* and their foreign allies to uphold the principles of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity.

(3) *Foreign Intervention*

Marie Antoinette made repeated appeals to her brother, Emperor Leopold II, to intervene and restore Louis XVI to his old power. He was alarmed at the mob violence in France, at the indignities and insults hurled at Louis XVI and his Queen and at the propagation of revolutionary doctrines outside the boundaries of France. So together with Frederick William II of Prussia he issued the *Declaration of Pilnitz* (1791) which threatened France with an invasion if the King and Queen were not treated respectfully.

The *emigres* exerted their influence and finally persuaded Austria and Prussia to declare war on France (1792).

The challenge to Revolutionary France was grave. She had hardly any organized army; and the coalition against her was powerful. But Danton rose to the occasion. His strategy was to crush ruthlessly the Royalist support inside the country in order to strike terror in their hearts, to suspend the King who was suspected of helping the enemies of France and to reorganize the armed forces of Revolutionary France. In pursuance of this

policy the King was suspended in August, 1792 and made a virtual prisoner. A large number of Royalists were massacred in September, 1792. (The course of the war is treated in a separate chapter).

The Constitution of 1791 had failed and so it was decided to call a *National Convention* to draft a new constitution.

Danton who was responsible for the September massacres and whose hands were smeared with blood was not only a great Revolutionary, but also a good organizer. He saved Revolutionary France from utter collapse.

- (a) He raised a highly disciplined army to fight against Austria and Prussia.
- (b) He set up a Republican form of government.
- (c) He organized a strong centralized government.

C. THE CONVENTION (1792-95)

The Convention, composed entirely of Republicans, met on 20 September 1792 and continued to sit up to 1795.

Problems of the Convention

It was faced with the following urgent problems at home and abroad.

(1) **External Problems.** To save France and its revolutionary principles from the invasion of foreign armies.

(2) **Internal Problems.** (a) What should be done with the King? (b) How to deal with internal disorder? and (c) To draw up a new constitution.

The Composition of the Convention

Before we take up the work of the Convention it will be useful to understand its composition and the struggle for power between the various parties.

The Convention was divided into three political groups:

(1) **The " Girondins "**. Most of them came from the province of Gironde in the south-west of France. They were " moderate republicans " and were imbued with great missionary zeal to spread the principles of the Revolution. They were mostly well-to-do *bourgeoisie* who commanded a good deal of influence in the provinces but were opposed by the *proletariat* and the Commune

of Paris which supported the Jacobins. Their leaders Brissot, Vergniaud, Condorcet, and Isnard were capable men. They were in power when the Convention met and were responsible for conducting the war which had been forced upon France by Austria, Prussia and the *emigres*.

(2) **The Jacobins or "Mountainists"**. They were extreme revolutionaries and through their clubs they were very efficiently and thoroughly organized. They wanted to establish a social and political democracy and were mostly supported by the proletariat and the Commune of Paris. Their leaders Danton, Robespierre and Carnot were exceptionally good orators and organizers.

(3) **The "Plain" or "Marais"**. A very large number of the members of the Convention belonged to this group led by Sieyes. They had no fixed policy and took decisions on the merit of the issues under consideration.

Quarrel between Girondins and Jacobins

There was a tussle for power between these two groups. The Girondins who were in power in the beginning soon fell on account of the following circumstances:

- (1) The war against Austria and Prussia did not go very favourably for France; and
- (2) The execution of the King in January, 1793 caused severe royalist reaction in France and abroad and they were blamed for it.

The Jacobins took advantage of the political situation and ousted the Girondins and grasped power. For over a year under Robespierre they were masters of France. Robespierre established the "Reign of Terror" and crushed all opposition ruthlessly. The atrocities committed during this period roused great indignation and a group of persons hostile to Robespierre hatched a plot and arrested him. Like his opponents, he also met his death at the guillotine. Political power again passed into the hands of the Girondins.

The Work of the Convention

- (1) **External Affairs.** The Convention pursued the war

against the allies very successfully. (For details see Chapter V.)

(2) **Internal Affairs.** The convention tried and executed the King.

(a) TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING (December 1792 to January 1793)

Louis XVI had already been suspended by the Legislative Assembly. What was to be done with him and the monarchy? The Convention deposed him and abolished the monarchy and proclaimed France a Republic. The King was then tried by the Convention for the following charges:

- (i) He was secretly in league with the foreign powers who had invaded France. Marie Antoinette had supplied military secrets to the enemies.
- (ii) He intrigued with the *emigres*.
- (iii) He did not subscribe to the "civil constitution" of the clergy and openly sympathized with the non-juring clergy.

The *Declaration of Brunswick* and the allied Commander's threat of reprisals against the Parisians further roused the Convention against the King.

He was found guilty of all the charges and was condemned to death by 387 votes to 334. He was executed on 21 January 1793.

Reaction to King's Execution.

- (i) A wave of indignation swept France; the King's execution caused violent outbursts in different parts of the country. These were ruthlessly suppressed by the Jacobins who had now grasped power under Robespierre.
- (ii) Abroad, the European countries were shocked and infuriated. Even England which had so far been somewhat sympathetic to the Revolution, was alienated. The allies became more determined to crush the Revolution and the War of the First Coalition raged with great fury. (For the course of the war see Chapter V.)

(b) "THE REIGN OF TERROR" (1793-94)

The Jacobins under Robespierre established the "Reign of Terror" to crush all internal insurrections and opposition. The methods adopted by them, known as the "Institutions of the Terror", were:

(i) **The Committee of Public Safety.** All executive authority was vested in the "Committee of Public Safety" which was dominated by Robespierre. It directed all internal and external policies.

It was assisted by two more committees to suppress internal disorder, viz., The Committee of General Security; and The Revolutionary Tribunal.

(ii) **"Law of Suspects".** The Convention enacted the *law of suspects* to enable the Committee of General Security and the Revolutionary Tribunal to summarily try all those who were suspected of hostility to the Convention. Thousands of "Royalists" were sent to the guillotine, to the accompaniment of popular mob frenzy. Marie Antoinette too was guillotined (16 October 1793).

The "moderates" condemned these executions and invited trouble for themselves. It was now their turn; and hundreds of Girondins including Brissot and Vergniaud were guillotined.

The Thermidorian "Coup". The "Terror" struck real terror into the hearts of the rebels and anarchy was brought under control. But it also caused a bitter reaction against Robespierre and his supporters. Their enemies, the "Thermidorians", conspired and hatched a plot and arrested Robespierre in the month of Thermidor (one of the months of the Revolutionary Calendar corresponding to July), and sent him to the guillotine (1794), where thousands of his enemies had met their end.

End of the Terror. With the fall of Robespierre the "Terror" also came to an end. And power once again slipped into the hands of the Girondins. "But if France ceased to be 'Terrorist', she remained revolutionary".

(c) A NATIONAL ARMY

By far the biggest achievement of the Convention was to rouse a spirit of nationalism in the country and to raise a National Army for France to fight the invading armies. The principles of the Revolution had to be preserved; an allied victory would undo the

work of the Revolution, and the "old order" would be re-established.

France rose as one man to uphold the Revolution and there was great enthusiasm among the people. Men, women, and children offered their services to the Convention. The whole nation was in arms. Conscription for the age group 18 to 25 was ordered and under the able guidance of Carnot at the War Office an efficient, well-trained and well-led national army of over 700,000 soldiers was raised. It replaced the old inefficient monarchical army and within a short time inflicted defeat after defeat on the allies.

The soldiers were imbued with unbounded patriotism and loyalty and their new song "Marseillaise" later became the National Anthem of France.

(d) OTHER REFORMS

The Convention, notwithstanding its preoccupation with the internal strife and the foreign war, carried out a number of reforms of permanent value.

- (1) Education was reorganized and French became the language of instruction in all schools.
- (2) A new code of laws was drawn up.
- (3) Negro-slavery was abolished.
- (4) The law of "primo-geniture" was repealed and property was to be inherited equally by all heirs.
- (5) The Metric system of weights and measures was introduced.
- (6) A new calendar was adopted. It had 12 months, each of 30 days, divided into three weeks of ten days each.

(e) ATTITUDE TOWARDS RELIGION

(1) **Notre Dame Dedicated to "Reason"**. The Convention was hostile to the Roman Catholic Church whose doctrines and dogmas had been ridiculed by the Rational Philosophers. Hence under the influence of the 'atheists', the churches were closed, and Christianity was suppressed. The "worship of Reason" took its place and Notre Dame was consecrated to the "Worship of Reason". The Christian calendar was substituted by a new Revolutionary calendar (1793). When Napoleon became Emperor of France, a reconciliation was brought about with the

Church and the new calendar was discontinued in 1806;

(2) **The Worship of the "Supreme Being"**. Robespierre was a "Deist"; he did not approve of the "Worship of Reason" and so he introduced the Worship of the "Supreme Being" during the days of the "Terror".

(3) **Toleration**. After Robespierre's fall, religious toleration was accepted and churches reopened.

(f) **THE NEW CONSTITUTION—THE "DIRECTORY"**

(1) The Convention ultimately succeeded in drafting a new constitution for France, called the "Directory".

Its salient features were as follows:

- (a) France became a Republic.
- (b) The executive authority was vested in a group of five Directors who were to be elected for a period of five years.
- (c) A bicameral legislature was instituted.
 - (i) *The Five Hundred*. This body proposed legislation.
 - (ii) *The Ancients*. This body accepted or rejected the legislation.
- (d) One-fifth of the executive and one-third of the legislature were to be renewed every year.

(2) **The "Law of the Two-Third"**. The Convention also passed a decree providing that two-thirds of the members of the new legislature must be the old members of the Convention. The "regicides" of the Convention feared reprisals if elections were free and unfettered. They wanted to ensure that there would not be a royalist majority in the new legislature.

This law was extremely unpopular and the moderates and royalists rose in arms against this wanton interference with the elections.

The "Directory" was installed in an atmosphere of extreme unrest and violence.

The Achievements of the Convention

Before we pursue the course of the Revolution under the

Directory it will be useful to recapitulate the achievements of the Convention.

(1) The Convention abolished monarchy and established a Republic.

(2) It roused great national enthusiasm in the country and French men, women and children rose in support of the motherland. Carnot's militant nationalism produced the most efficient army in Europe.

(3) The enemies of France were driven away from the French border and the French National Army achieved great victories.

(4) It marked the second stage of the Revolution — the gains of the Revolution were consolidated. Monarchy and feudalism had been abolished.

D. THE DIRECTORY (1795-99)

The Directory, as the new constitution was called, was put to a referendum and accepted by the people.

The new government was installed in office amidst a popular outburst of rioting against the Law of the Two-third. The army had to be called in to deal with Paris mobs, and for the first time since the outbreak of the Revolution, the army under General Napoleon successfully suppressed the uprising in a very short time. This was the end of mob-violence in Paris and marked the rise of Napoleon who became famous overnight.

But the troubles of the Directory were not yet over and within four years it also was superseded.

Causes of the Failure of the Directory

(1) **Mediocre and Corrupt Directors.** The five Directors were extremely incompetent and corrupt, and they kept themselves in power by means of bribery and intrigue and they could not cope with the deteriorating political and financial conditions.

(2) **Internal Strife.** There was considerable political unrest on account of the activities of the Royalists and the Radicals. The Royalists were dissatisfied with the Law of the Two-third and the Radical Socialists wanted to bring in Socialism. The latter led by Babeuf rose in revolt, but it was ruthlessly crushed.

(3) **Financial Crisis.** The Directory like the Monarchy in 1787-89, was faced with financial bankruptcy. The issue of

"assignats" or paper money in large numbers had led to inflation and financial crisis.

The "Brumaire" Coup (1799) and the Fall of the Directory

These three causes weakened the Government. To make matters worse even the Directors were not united and could not solve the internal problem or prosecute the war with vigour. The need of the hour was a strong military government. Napoleon who had successfully dispersed the Paris mob in 1795 had become a hero overnight. He also enjoyed the support of the army. Therefore a plot was hatched between him and Sieyes, one of the Directors, and an army coup or the "coup d'etat of Brumaire" (it was one of the months of the new Revolutionary calendar corresponding to November) overthrew the Directory.

A new form of government known as the Consulate was substituted.

With the fall of the Directory, the Revolution too had come to an end.

Henceforth the future of France was linked with the fortunes of Napoleon, the "Man of Destiny", who dominated the French stage and the European scene for the next 16 years.

E. THE CONSULATE (1799-1804)

Napoleon was the chief architect of the new constitution.

Its salient features were as follows.

(1) **Consuls.** The executive authority was vested in three consuls. The First Consul, in practice, was in full control of all internal and foreign policy and was in command of the army and navy. The other two consuls were mere assistants. (Napoleon was the First Consul; he was assisted by Sieyes and Ducos.) Napoleon was elected First Consul for ten years but in 1802, he was appointed First Consul for life.

(2) **The Council of State.** The First Consul appointed a Council of State whose main work was to propose legislation. Since it was appointed by the First Consul, all initiative in legislation rested with the First Consul.

(3) **The Senate.** The three consuls appointed the Senate consisting of 60 members whose main functions were: (a) to

appoint Tribunes and Legislators, and (b) to act as the Custodian of the Constitution.

(4) **The Tribune.** Its main function was to discuss the legislation proposed by the Council of State; it had no right to vote.

(5) **The Legislative Body.** It voted on the laws without discussing them.

The new constitution was rather elaborate and though outwardly a democratic form was maintained, yet, in fact, it was a cleverly disguised despotism of the First Consul, who controlled the Council of State and the Senate and, through them, all administration, legislation and taxation.

THE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION

Though at the end of ten years of Revolution, France had reverted to almost dictatorial rule and the democratic institutions had been made ineffective, she had made some definite gains from the Revolution.

(1) Feudalism and the privileges of the nobility and clergy were abolished.

(2) The Church had been subordinated to the State.

(3) A uniform and efficient system of administration had been introduced. Laws had been codified.

(4) Taxation was now shared by all and it was evenly and fairly distributed on all sections of society.

(5) A national army had been raised.

(6) The principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity were guaranteed to the people, in spite of the fact that an absolute monarchy had been replaced by a military dictatorship.

Liberty: All French citizens now enjoyed liberty of speech, of movement, of worship, of conscience, etc.

Equality: All French citizens were now "equal in the eyes of law" and social inequalities had been abolished.

Fraternity: The universal brotherhood of Frenchmen was recognized and was the underlying basis of the militant French Nationalism.

"Political liberty, social equality, national patriotism were now the permanent heritage of the people of France."

Chapter 5

WARS OF REVOLUTIONARY FRANCE

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION AND ITS REACTIONS

THE French Revolution caused abhorrence in all European countries except Great Britain because like France they all were absolute monarchies, where the nobility and the clergy enjoyed special privileges, and where the masses groaned under heavy taxation. These countries feared that the Revolutionary doctrines might spread beyond the French borders and cause rebellions in them also. Their attitude to it, therefore, was hostile.

Only in Great Britain, where already a limited monarchy had been established in the 17th century and where there were no class distinctions, was the Revolution received with mixed feelings. An average Englishman sympathized with the sentiments of the French people in the beginning, but as the Revolution became more and more violent and when the King was deposed and executed, English sympathy turned into indignation and hostility.

As a result of the mob-violence against the nobles and the clergy and the confiscation of their property, a large number of them fled the country. These *emigres* took shelter in the neighbouring countries and concentrated mainly in Coblenz on the eastern frontier. They directed the activities of their supporters against the Revolution in France from abroad and appealed to the foreign powers to intervene and suppress the Revolution. The more propaganda they made, the more violent was its reaction in France and more and more nobles' property was confiscated or looted and more and more sympathizers were massacred. The National Assembly passed decrees confiscating their property. The Royalist risings in La Vendée and other places were ruthlessly suppressed. The propaganda and activities of the *emigres* and the hostility of foreign monarchs, particularly of Austria

and Prussia, on the one hand and the atrocities and mob violence of the French on the other, soon involved France in long wars.

WAR — FRANCE vs. AUSTRIA AND PRUSSIA (1792-93)

Causes

(1) **The Emigres and their Activities.** The *emigres* concentrated in Coblenz, carried on incessant propaganda against the Revolution and ultimately succeeded in persuading Austria and Prussia to intervene on their behalf and the King's.

(2) **Treatment of the Royal Family.** Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette were subjected to insults and indignities. They were virtual prisoners in the palace of Tuileries. The King sympathized with the *emigres* and made an unsuccessful bid to flee the country. Marie Antoinette made frantic appeals to her brother Emperor Leopold II to save the monarchy. She appealed to him to call a European Congress to intervene on its behalf.

(3) **Hostility of Austria and Prussia (Declaration of Piltz, 1791).** Leopold and Frederick William II of Prussia met at Piltz and issued the famous Declaration of Piltz threatening France with armed intervention, if the King was not treated with due respect.

But in 1791 Louis XVI accepted the constitution drafted by the National Assembly and the need for armed intervention disappeared.

(4) **French Resentment at Foreign Threats.** The French deeply resented foreign interference in their internal affairs and felt indignant at the Declaration of Piltz.

(5) **Immediate Causes.** (a) The Girondin Ministers of France precipitated a war. They ordered the Elector of Trevis where the *emigres* had concentrated to expel them and when he did not, France declared war.

(b) *The Edict of Fraternity.* The Convention invited all European countries to rise against their absolute rulers.

So war broke out in 1792, with France arrayed against Austria and Prussia.

Brunswick's Manifesto. The allies had initial victories, because the French monarchical armies were inefficient and the Duke of Brunswick, the Prussian Commander, issued his famous Manifesto, threatening the Parisians with reprisals if the King was illtreated.

Instead of cowing down the French, it infuriated them and Danton raised a new army to fight the invading armies.

Brunswick's advance was halted and he was defeated by Dumouriez at Cannonade of Valmy. The French then defeated the Austrians at Jemappes and overran the whole of the Austrian Netherlands. In Italy the French conquered Savoy and Nice.

FORMATION OF THE FIRST COALITION (1793-97)

The French Convention at this stage took aggressive steps which brought Great Britain into the war.

Why Great Britain joined the Allies and formed the First Coalition (1793-97)

Great Britain organized the First Coalition which brought together Austria, Prussia, Holland, Spain, Sardinia and Great Britain to fight against France for the following reasons:

- (1) Revolutionary France, in violation of the Treaty of Scheldt, opened the river to navigation. This was a threat to British commerce, as a revived Antwerp would compete with London for the markets of the world.
- (2) Holland was in imminent danger of invasion. Great Britain would never allow it to fall into French hands.
- (3) The execution of Louis XVI shocked the people of Great Britain and the demand for intervention grew louder.
- (4) In November, 1793, the Convention issued the Edict of Fraternity, inviting all European countries to overthrow their rulers. This alarmed the enemies of France who united together to oppose the Revolutionary doctrines.

Important Events

- 1793** (1) The French forces under Dumouriez invaded Holland, but were defeated by the Austrians at Neerwinden. Dumouriez who was shocked at the King's execution deserted to the allies.
- (2) The Austrians reconquered the Netherlands. But the Austrians and Prussians fell out because they distrusted each other and were more interested in the Second Partition of Poland (1793).
- (3) The British navy occupied Toulon.

- (4) A French National Army was raised by Carnot and it hit back with great fury.
- 1794 (5) The French under Jourdan defeated the Austrians at Fleurus.
- (6) In the naval battle of 1st June, off Brest, the British navy defeated the French.
- 1795 (7) Holland was overrun by the French and sued for peace and made an offensive and defensive alliance with France.
- (8) Prussia was by now financially bankrupt and her relations with Austria were strained, so she withdrew from the war and signed the Treaty of Basel (March, 1795).

Only Great Britain, Austria and Sardinia were left in the war.

Napoleon's First Italian Campaign ((1796-97)

- 1796 (9) A two-pronged attack was launched against Austria. Jourdan and Moreau invaded Austria through the Rhenish provinces and Napoleon marched into Austrian possessions in Italy.

Napoleon led a brilliant campaign against the Sardinians and Austrians. Crossing the Alps he captured Savoy and Nice and forced Sardinia to make peace.

- (10) Napoleon occupied Milan and defeated the Austrians at Pescheira and captured Mantua.
- (11) The Papal States were occupied and the Pope made peace.
- (12) Napoleon defeated the Austrians at Tagliamento. And Austria also sued for peace.

1797. The Treaty of Campo-Formio was signed. The main results of the treaty were:

- (1) The Rhine became the French frontier.
- (2) Austrian Netherlands was annexed to France.
- (3) Lombardy, Ferrara, Bologna and Modena became the Cisalpine Republic.
- (4) Austria annexed Venetia as compensation for her loss of Netherlands.

Importance of the Treaty:

(a) It marked the end of the first round of conflict between Revolutionary France and Europe and brought about the collapse of the First Coalition.

(b) Only Great Britain was left to fight France.

(c) French frontiers extended up to the Rhine (Louis XIV's dream came true).

(d) Dissension between Prussia and Austria weakened the defence of Germany.

(e) French influence increased considerably through the formation of the following Republics on her border: (i) Batavian Republic (Holland) in 1795; (ii) Cisalpine Republic (Lombardy and Milan) in 1797; (iii) Ligurian Republic (Genoa) in 1798; (iv) Roman Republic (Papal States); (v) Helvetic Republic (Switzerland); (vi) Parthenopean Republic (Naples and Sicily) in 1799.

(f) Napoleon's fame as a brilliant general rose very high.

Struggle between Great Britain and France

After the Treaty of Campo-Formio the struggle between France and Great Britain continued. France had succeeded in forming a coalition with Spain and Holland against Great Britain and could now deploy their navies against her. But before the three navies could join, Great Britain won the following naval victories:

(a) At the *battle of St. Vincent*, Nelson defeated the Spanish navy.

(b) At the battle of *Camperdown*, Duncan defeated the Dutch fleet.

THE EGYPTIAN CAMPAIGN (1798-99)

Napoleon wanted to cut off the communications of the British with India and to strike at the British possessions in the East. So he sailed for Egypt in 1798. The Directory, who considered him a dangerous rival, on account of his popularity after the Italian campaign, also wanted to send him as far away from Europe as possible and so approved of his plan. Napoleon sailed from Toulon and on the way he captured Malta from the Knights of St. John.

Nelson, on hearing the news of Napoleon's adventure, followed him.

Napoleon reached Egypt and defeated the Mamelukes at the Battle of the Pyramids.

Nelson found the French fleet in Aboukir bay and destroyed it at the Battle of the Nile in 1798.

At this stage Turkey also joined the Coalition.

Napoleon crossed into Syria, but could not capture the "mud-hole" of Acre which was ably defended by Sir Sidney Smith. His dreams of eastern conquests were shattered.

In the meanwhile he got urgent summons from the Directory to return and he sailed for France.

On his return he overthrew the Directory and installed the Consulate in 1799.

THE FORMATION OF THE SECOND COALITION (1798-1802)

The following causes were responsible for the raising of the Second Coalition:

(1) Great Britain persuaded Austria and Russia to join a Second Coalition against France after Nelson's victory at the Nile.

(2) The monarchs of Europe were indignant at the formation of so many Republics, as vassals of France, so close to their borders. The French Revolutionary ideas would soon overwhelm them too.

So Great Britain, Austria, Russia and Turkey joined together against France.

Chief Battles of the Second Coalition

1799. Austria and Russia overran Northern Italy. The French evacuated Rome and Naples.

But the French counter-attacked and defeated the Russians at Zurich and forced them to withdraw from the war.

1800. Napoleon, now First Consul, once again invaded Italy and defeated the Austrians at Marengo.

The French under Moreau defeated the Austrians at Hohenlinden in Germany. The Austrians sued for peace.

1801. The Treaty of Luneville between Austria and France, reaffirmed the Treaty of Campo-Formio.

Once again Great Britain was isolated and the war was confined to the sea.

Great Britain and the "Armed Neutrality". In order to ensure that France would not get supplies and raw materials from

abroad Great Britain claimed the right to search neutral ships. Russia, Sweden, Denmark and Prussia protested against this and formed the Northern League and declared war on Great Britain.

Parker and Nelson were sent against the Northern League.

Only Denmark had a powerful navy. Nelson attacked and defeated it at the Battle of Copenhagen. (Parker, the British Admiral, hoisted the signal of recall and ordered Nelson to retreat when the naval battle was on, thinking that Nelson would be overwhelmed by the Danes. But Nelson put his spy-glass to his blind eye and said he could not see it and continued to fight and won the battle). The Northern League collapsed after that.

Treaty of Amiens (March, 1802). Both Great Britain and France were by now tired of war. The British were supreme at sea, but on land the French had maintained their mastery. So the two agreed to make the Peace of Amiens.

(1) Great Britain restored all colonial conquests except Trinidad and Ceylon.

(2) France got back West Indian Islands.

(3) The Dutch got back Cape of Good Hope.

(4) Great Britain promised to restore Malta to the Knights of St. John.

(5) Both the English and the French withdrew from Egypt.

(6) The French withdrew from the Papal States.

(1) **Importance of the Treaty.** The Treaty was more in the nature of a truce than a settlement. It was made because both sides were weary of warfare.

(2) Great Britain returned most of her colonial conquests.

(3) Great Britain did not succeed in crushing France and the French mastery on land was maintained.

Chapter 6

THE RISE OF NAPOLEON AND HIS REFORMS

THE DIRECTORY (1795-99) had thoroughly discredited itself on account of its weak internal and foreign policies. There was grave discontent in the country on account of the following causes:

- (1) Internal disorder had increased considerably.
- (2) The Directors were corrupt and incompetent.
- (3) The financial crisis caused by inflation on account of the liberal issue of the "assignats" could not be controlled.
- (4) In the external field, the war did not go well for some time against the Russians and Austrians in Italy.

The Brumaire Coup (November, 1799). Hence there was a very strong urge for a strong government to cope with the deteriorating internal and external situation. Sieyes, one of the Directors, in collusion with Napoleon planned a military coup. The two houses of legislature were persuaded to shift to St. Cloud, 5 miles away from Paris on the plea that there was a danger of mob violence in Paris. Those Directors who did not support the coup were removed and Napoleon and his army took charge of Paris. Then he went to St. Cloud and dispersed the councillors by force and the rule of the Directory came to an end; and a new form of government called the Consulate was installed. Napoleon was appointed First Consul for ten years—with all administrative and military powers.

Napoleon's Character. It will be interesting to study the life of this man who staged the "Brumaire Coup" and became the military dictator and who controlled the destinies of France and of Europe for the next 16 years.

Napoleon was an ambitious man, and had great confidence in

his own ability. He called himself the "man of destiny". He had tremendous faculty for organization and was a genius in generalship. He was extremely popular with the soldiers and knew those who fought under him well and had always a word of cheer for every soldier. He was a great orator and could inspire his army with tremendous zeal and courage at crucial times. In short, he was a rare combination of a soldier and statesman.

Early Life. He was the son of Charles Bonaparte, a lawyer of Ajaccio (Corsica). The family was of Italian origin. He was born on 15 August 1769. His great ambition as a boy was to free Corsica, his home island, from the yoke of the French and so he wished to be a soldier. Therefore, he was sent to the Military School at Brienne (France) and then later to Paris. Being a foreigner and of uncouth manners, he was bullied by his school-mates and quite often there were violent scenes between them. After completing his military training he joined the French army. In addition to his proficiency in Military Science, he was deeply interested in Mathematics, History and Political Science.

During the early days of the Revolution he had sympathy with the Revolutionaries but he did not take an active part in it. In 1795, when the Convention passed the Law of the Two-thirds, there was mob violence in Paris and the government called in General Napoleon to deal with the situation. He did his task with remarkable speed and earned a name for thoroughness and efficiency.

In 1796-97 he led the Revolutionary forces in Italy against Austria and won overwhelming victories and forced her to sign the Treaty of Campo-Formio.

His successful Italian campaign made him the idol of France.

In 1798-99 he was sent to Egypt, but returned to France in time to overthrow the Directory in 1799 by staging the "Brumaire Coup".

He was appointed First Consul for ten years in 1799, but in 1802 he was made First Consul for life.

In 1804, the Senate passed a decree, saying, "the Government of the Republic is entrusted to an emperor" and by an overwhelming vote of 53,72, 329 to 2,569 he was elected Emperor of France. He was crowned with great pomp and show and though the Pope was present at the ceremony he did not allow him to place the crown on his head. He put it on his head himself!

So once again France had a monarchical form of government with an emperor as its head after undergoing so much bloodshed and misery to abolish monarchy! But the French Empire — the so-called First Empire — was very different from the French Bourbon monarchy. It was efficient and depended on the willing support of the people. It was an heir of the French Revolution and whatever good there was in it, was maintained and preserved by the French Empire.

Policy. One of the greatest generals of the world, Napoleon was also a great administrator and organizer and the first task before him was to bring order in the internal administration. From 1799 to 1804, he had comparative peace at home and therefore he devoted all his attention to carrying out a number of reforms.

His policy was based on: (a) Centralization and consolidation of power; and (b) Conciliation and healing the wounds of the Royalists and the Church and all those who had suffered at the hands of the Revolution.

Reforms

He carried out a number of reforms:

(1) **The Constitution.** His was the dominant figure in drafting the Constitution of the Consulate. (See Chapter IV for details.)

(2) **Centralization of Local Government.** The Convention believed in excessive decentralization and during its regime the elected local governments in departments and communes enjoyed vast powers. Napoleon wanted to concentrate all power in the hands of the First Consul. Therefore, though the elected councils were allowed to exist, their entire power was vested in the prefects, sub-prefects or mayors who were all appointed by the First Consul and carried out his orders. The elected bodies met rarely.

The police in big cities like Paris was also controlled by the Central Government.

Thus Napoleon succeeded in establishing a system of administration more centralized than even that of Richelieu and Mazarin. The people acquiesced in the loss of their power because they had tremendous faith in Napoleon and they had suffered much during the Revolution. They wanted peace and stability.

(3) **Financial Reforms.** Napoleon wanted to guard his regime against any financial crisis. He knew the causes of the downfall of the monarchy and the Directory and therefore he took steps to put the Consulate on firm financial foundations. The "assignats" had already been repudiated in 1797 and to stabilize the financial condition of the Consulate, he took the following measures:

- (a) Severe economy was introduced in public expenditure.
- (b) Rigorous collection of taxes was ordered. Arrears were collected.
- (c) Corrupt and inefficient officials were punished severely.
- (d) The Bank of France (1800) was established and a Sinking Fund was instituted.
- (e) A special fund called the "Extra-Ordinary Domain" was raised from indemnities imposed on the vanquished countries to meet the expenses of the Army. Therefore, Napoleon's wars were not at all great drains on the French exchequer. He made his enemies pay the expenses of the war.

(4) **Conciliation of the Emigres.** He invited the *emigres* back to France and promised to restore their property if it had not been already sold. They were allowed to hold public office. All political prisoners were set free.

(5) **The 'Concordat' with the Pope (1801).** The civil constitution of the clergy had created a breach with the Pope. Napoleon wanted to befriend the Pope for the following reasons:

(a) A vast majority of Frenchmen were Catholics. They had been alienated by the civil constitution of the clergy and by the worship of "Reason". Napoleon wanted their political support because a large number of them backed the Count of Provence, the future Louis XVIII. He thought that if they were conciliated, he would undermine the Count's influence.

(b) He himself was a deeply religious person. After prolonged negotiations with the Pope he succeeded in arriving at an agreement known as the Concordat.

The terms of the Concordat were:

(i) The Pope accepted the work of the Revolution and, reconciled himself to the confiscation of church property and the suppression of the monasteries.

(ii) The Republic promised to pay the arrears of the salaries of the clergymen, which had been suspended in 1794.

(iii) The First Consul would nominate the bishops who would be invested by the Pope.

(iv) The bishops would appoint the priests.

(v) The non-juring clergy were released from prison.

(vi) The churches were reopened.

Thus the schism between the Church and the State was healed.*

(6) **Legal Reforms.** [During the Revolution, the Convention had started the work of codifying the laws, but it could not be completed. Laws still differed from department to department and town to town.

Justice was not fairly administered as even the judges were elected and so they could not afford to displease their electors by being "independent" and fair. So Napoleon appointed a committee and with its help carried out the following reforms:

(a) The multiple legal system was repealed and a uniform system was substituted.

(b) The laws were codified and the following codes were compiled:

(i) Civil Code or Code Napoleon.

(ii) Code of Civil Procedure.

(iii) Code of Criminal Procedure.

(iv) Penal Code.

(v) Commercial Code.

The laws were based on the principles of the Revolution and civil equality, religious toleration and equal inheritance were granted to all. All feudal privileges had been abolished.

(c) The judges were to be appointed by the Central Government. But certain flaws were still left in the administration of justice:

(i) Women were not assigned the same position as men, and

(ii) Punishments were still very severe.

* The conciliation of the *emigres* and the Roman Catholic Church roused misgivings in the minds of the people that Napoleon might restore the Bourbon monarchy too!

(7) **Educational Reforms.** Napoleon realized the importance of education in building up national character, hence a new system of education was introduced. French had already become the language of instruction under the Convention. The following further steps were taken:

(a) Every commune would have a Primary School under the supervision of the Prefect or Sub-prefect.

(b) Secondary and Grammar Schools whether Private or Public would be under the control of the Central Government.

(c) Every town, as far as possible, would have a High School.

(d) Technical schools would be opened under the control of the government.

(e) The University of France would maintain uniformity in the educational system and all public schools and their teachers would be approved by it.

(f) All teaching was based on:

(i) the principles of Christianity;

(ii) loyalty to the Head of the State; and

(iii) obedience to the rules and regulations of the University.

But lack of funds and shortage of lay teachers were responsible for a large number of private Catholic schools.

(8) **General.**

(a) A large number of highways, bridges, canals, etc., were constructed. Old roads were repaired.

(b) Large marshy lands were brought under cultivation and a period of general prosperity followed.

(c) French palaces were beautified with art treasures brought as booty from Italy and other places.

(d) A Legion of Honour was instituted in May 1802.

(e) A new class of nobility was created. It constituted a great pillar of support of the Empire.

Conclusion. The course of the French Revolution had helped Napoleon to rise to power and he proudly said, "I am a child of the Revolution". He glorified its principles and tried to spread them abroad. Yet having grasped power he undid some of the work of the Revolution and aptly remarked, "I destroyed the

Revolution". He carried out far-reaching reforms which ushered in an era of progress and prosperity. The people acquiesced in his dictatorship because they were weary of the atrocities of the Revolution. The common man did not want the recrudescence of the "terror", he wanted a strong centralized government which would give him peace and stability. Though Napoleon re-established the institution of monarchy, yet he based his administration on the Revolutionary theories of equality of all men.

The aim of his reforms was to consolidate whatever was good in the Revolution and to conciliate those who had suffered at its hands without compromising the essential principles of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity. His conciliation of the Church and the *emigres* did not restore their pre-Revolution privileges or power.

Napoleon's claim to greatness does not rest entirely on his genius as a great general and his brilliant and manifold victories, but also on the numerous peaceful reforms he carried out in the internal sphere. His judicial reforms, his educational system, his religious agreement endured for a long time and that is a great tribute to his organizing and reforming zeal and capacity.

Chapter 7

WARS OF NAPOLEON (UP TO THE TREATY OF TILSIT, 1807)

DURING THE regime of the Consulate, Napoleon carried out a number of internal reforms and firmly established his hold on France. Having set the internal affairs in order, he now embarked on an ambitious venture of spreading his influence in Europe.

As Emperor of France and "Son of the Revolution" he launched a new offensive against the absolute monarchies of Europe with the main purpose of spreading the Revolutionary principles to other countries and to glorify himself and France.

Difference between Revolutionary Wars and Napoleonic Wars. But there was a fundamental difference between the character of the wars waged by Revolutionary France from 1792 to 1802 and the Napoleonic Wars from 1803 onwards. The former were wars of liberation; they carried the message of the Revolution to the down-trodden people of foreign countries; they roused in them hopes of deliverance from the tyranny of absolutism, and hence wherever the French soldiers went they were regarded by the masses as helpers, friends and saviours of the underprivileged classes.

Napoleon hurt National Feelings. But the Napoleonic wars did not rouse any such popular fervour. They were waged by an Imperial Despot to achieve glory and therefore instead of rousing sympathy, in the long run, they roused antagonism. The national self-respect of the countries invaded by Napoleon was roused against him and was, in the end, one of the most important causes of his downfall. Napoleon trampled on the national sentiments of the vanquished people by placing his brothers or sisters on their thrones. He was no longer regarded as a deliverer from the tyranny of absolute rulers; he was hated as a usurper and tyrant.

RENEWAL OF CONFLICT BETWEEN FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN

Causes. The Treaty of Amiens was only a truce: both sides wanted respite from fighting. The real causes of conflict between France and Great Britain had not been settled by it; they continued. The chief causes were as follows:

(1) A large majority of people in Great Britain were still hostile to the French Revolution and its atrocities. They regarded Napoleon as an heir of the Revolution trying to spread it abroad by force.

(2) The British were hostile to any French attempt for the revival of the French colonial Empire. They had not forgotten French participation in the War of American Independence.

(3) The economic and commercial rivalry between the two countries still continued. If Spain, Holland and Belgium remained under French influence, British overseas commerce with their colonies would be adversely affected.

(4) The British viewed with grave suspicion Napoleon's expanding influence in Italy. His annexation of Piedmont and Genoa and the formation of the Italian Republic, created in their minds serious doubts about Napoleon's intentions in Egypt. He might try to reconquer it and thus seriously jeopardize British communications with her Eastern Empire.

(5) The occupation of Holland presented a very serious threat to British commerce.

(6) The French refused to renew the Anglo-French commercial treaty.

(7) References to Napoleon in the British press were very derogatory and created ill-will between the two countries.

(8) **Immediate Cause.** Both countries accused each other of not carrying out the terms of the Treaty of Amiens.

(a) The British would not evacuate Malta, and

(b) The French were accused of undue interference in Italian affairs.

So when the negotiations on Malta broke down, war between Great Britain and France also broke out (1803).

Course of the Struggle

1803 (1) The French invaded and occupied Hanover.

Frederick William III of Prussia protested, but did not take any further action.

- (2) The English retaliated by blockading Elbe and Weser, in order to coerce Prussia to declare war on France.
- (3) Napoleon forced Spain and Portugal to pay large subsidies to France. Spain joined France against Great Britain. Great Britain retaliated by looting Spanish ships.
- (4) **Plan to invade Great Britain.** Napoleon now planned to invade Great Britain. A huge army was amassed on the northern frontier. If the French could get control of the English Channel for some time, the irresistible French army would cross over and then Great Britain like other European powers would be vanquished.

A large number of ships, boats, frigates, etc., were collected. The English were ready for an invasion which seemed imminent. Nelson and Calder watched the French fleet and Martello towers were constructed along the British coast and the whole nation was in a state of alarm.

Napoleon's Plan. Villeneuve, the French admiral, was to sail from Toulon to join the Spanish fleet at Cadiz. The two fleets would then sail for the West Indies to attack British shipping and trade and they would then join the French naval squadron which had already sailed from Rochefort. The French were certain that they would be pursued by Nelson to the West Indies. While on the high seas, they would give Nelson the slip and sail back to France and in conjunction with the Fleet at Brest invade England.

Villeneuve escaped from Toulon, and sailed for the West Indies according to plan. He was pursued by Nelson, but since he did not meet the Rochefort squadron, he returned without encountering Nelson. When Nelson did not meet the French fleet he sent an urgent message to England to warn the coastal navy. The British navy was alerted and intercepted the French fleet which was defeated at the battle of Cape Finisterre by Calder, but he did not pursue the French navy and allowed it to escape. For this negligence he was court-martialled.

Villeneuve also suffered the same fate, at the hands of Napoleon, for not sailing straight for the English Channel.

Battle of Trafalgar (1805). The French navy despaired of acquiring control of the English Channel and the invasion of Great Britain was abandoned. Nelson pursued the French navy and defeated it decisively at the Battle of Trafalgar (1805). Though he himself was mortally wounded, he had accomplished his task. The British victory at Trafalgar was complete, the French navy was utterly destroyed.

So great was Napoleon's hold on the press that the news of the French defeat at Trafalgar was not published in any newspaper lest it might undermine French morale. It was published only after Napoleon's fall!

THE THIRD COALITION (1805-07)

Pitt, the English Prime Minister, was an inveterate enemy of the Revolution and Napoleon, and through his untiring energy and zeal a Third Coalition was raised against Napoleon.

Pitt persuaded Austria, Sweden and Russia to join Great Britain.

Why Austria joined it. (a) Austria was annoyed with Napoleon's domination in Italy.

(b) Emperor Francis II was irritated at Napoleon's assumption of the title of Emperor.

Why Russia joined it. Russia joined the Third Coalition because Tsar Alexander I was an idealist and abhorred the Revolutionary doctrine. But Russia had no money to raise armies to fight against France. To overcome this difficulty, Pitt gave liberal subsidies to Russia.

Prussian Neutrality. Prussia did not join the Third Coalition in the beginning because Napoleon "purchased" her neutrality by offering Hanover to her. She joined the allies later when the French armies under Bernadotte violated Prussian territory. Moreover she thought that by playing the game of an arbitrator, she might gain more than by joining the allies.

Chief Battles of the War of the Third Coalition

The French armies once again swept everything before them. They won remarkably swift and overwhelming victories.

- ✓ 1805 (1) The French defeated the Austrian army under General Mack at Ulm.
(2) Napoleon then entered Vienna.
(3) Napoleon inflicted a crushing and decisive defeat on the combined armies of Austria and Russia at Austerlitz on 2nd December, the first anniversary of his Coronation Day.

Treaty of Pressburg

Austria sued for peace and the Treaty of Pressburg (1805) was signed.

- (a) Austria ceded Venetia, Istria and Dalmatia to France.
- (b) Austria was allowed to retain Trieste.
- (c) Austria gave Tyrol to Bavaria.
- (d) The Emperor Francis II renounced his suzerainty over Bavaria and Wurttemberg which were converted into Kingdoms.

Importance of the Treaty. (1) Austria lost all her Italian territories.

(2) She was so utterly defeated, that she was reduced to a second class power.

Austria had been eliminated from the Third Coalition but the war against Russia and Great Britain continued.

Vassal States. At this stage Napoleon created the following vassal States and placed his brothers and kinsmen on their thrones. This was a great blunder on his part because by doing so he hurt the national self-respect of the peoples and later, at an opportune moment, they rose against him.

(1) Joseph Bonaparte, his elder brother became king of Naples.

(2) His sister Elise became Princess of Lucca.

(3) His younger brother Louis became King of Holland.

(4) Joachim Murat, his brother-in-law, was made Grand Duke of Berg.

(5) His step-son Eugene Beauharnais was appointed Viceroy of Italy.

(6) Napoleon formed, under French protection, the Confederation of the Rhine consisting of 16 States of the Holy Roman Empire. This marked the end of the Holy Roman Empire and Francis II gave up the title of the Holy Roman Emperor; (he was now called Francis I, Emperor of Austria).

Why Prussia joined the Coalition (1806). At this stage Prussia which had so far remained neutral also joined the allies because of the following reasons:

(1) Prussia regarded the creation of the Confederation of the Rhine with great apprehension.

(2) There was a good deal of suspense over the fate of Hanover. Napoleon had offered to restore Hanover to Great Britain as a price for peace.

(3) Frederick William III was goaded by his wife Queen Louise to be brave and face the French challenge.

So Prussia allied with the Tsar and declared war on Napoleon (1806).

But Napoleon was quick to strike at Prussia and before the Russians could come to her rescue, he decisively defeated the Prussians at the battle of Jena (1806) and another French army under Davoust defeated them at Auerstadt.

Napoleon entered Berlin and the Prussian resistance was completely crushed.

War with Russia. Napoleon continued his advance. An indecisive battle was fought at Eylau. But soon Napoleon completely defeated the Russians at Friedland in 1807.

The Tsar Alexander I also sued for peace.

The Treaty of Tilsit (1807). Napoleon met Tsar Alexander on a raft in the river Niemen and the latter was very deeply influenced by the former's personality. Napoleon too treated the Tsar with great respect and honour and did not make any territorial demands on him. He even encouraged him to attack Turkey and Finland. This was a great diplomatic move on Napoleon's part. By allowing Alexander a free hand against Sweden and Turkey, he wanted to create ill feelings between Russia and Great Britain because the latter would not tolerate Russian expansion in the south at the cost of Turkey.

The Treaty of Tilsit was mostly concerned with the future of Prussia.

(1) Prussia was dismembered.

(a) Her Polish territories were formed into the *Grand Duchy of Warsaw* under the *Grand Duke of Saxony* who was an ally of Napoleon.

(b) Prussian territories west of the River Elbe were formed into the *Kingdom of Westphalia* under Jerome Bonaparte.

(2) Both the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Westphalia joined the Confederation of the Rhine.

(3) Prussian army was reduced to 42,000 soldiers.

(4) A heavy war indemnity was imposed on Prussia and the French army was to occupy Prussian territory till it was paid.

(5) Tsar Alexander agreed to support the Continental system.

(6) By a secret clause Alexander agreed to help France against England if the latter refused to make peace.

Napoleon would have liked to depose Frederick William III but the Tsar pleaded on his behalf.

Importance of the Treaty of Tilsit

(a) **Napoleon, Master of Europe.** The year 1807 marked the highest water-mark of the French glory. Napoleon was at the zenith of his triumph, the whole of Europe lay at his feet. He was the suzerain of a number of vassal States; Austria and Prussia had been utterly humbled, and the Tsar of Russia was his ally.

(b) **Collapse of the Third Coalition.** The Third Coalition collapsed and Great Britain was once again left alone in the field.

(c) **Prussia humiliated.** Prussia was reduced to almost a third-rate power.

Chapter 8

NAPOLEONIC WARS (Contd.)

THE "CONTINENTAL SYSTEM" AND THE COMMERCIAL WAR

THE Treaty of Tilsit was a landmark in the phenomenal rise of Napoleon. Practically the whole of Europe had been over-run by him. The French armies had established their undisputed superiority on land. Even the Tsar of Russia was now a friend and "brother" of Napoleon. Only Great Britain still continued to fight. The British navy, like the French army on land, had established its supremacy at sea. Neither side could dictate final terms to the other. But Napoleon was bent upon bringing Great Britain to her knees. His problem now was as to how a lion could strike at a shark. For this he introduced the "Continental System".

The Continental System (1806-07)

He now devised a new method of hitting at Great Britain. The prosperity and greatness of Great Britain depended upon her colonial and sea-borne trade which she had built up during the course of the 17th and 18th centuries. If, somehow, he could ruin her trade and close the European markets to British goods, he would be able to force the British to sue for peace. In sheer contempt, he called the English "a nation of shop keepers" which had become rich on account of her trade and the Industrial Revolution. Therefore, he decided to wage an economic war against Great Britain and persuaded his allies to accept the "Continental System".

STAGES IN THE COMMERCIAL WAR

(1) **Berlin Decrees (November, 1806).** After the Prussian

defeat at Jena, Napoleon entered Berlin and from there he issued his famous decrees attacking British commerce.

(a) He declared a general blockade of British Isles.

(b) European ports were closed to British shipping, so that British goods might not be sold in European markets.

(2) **British Reaction—"Orders in Council"**. Great Britain replied to these decrees by issuing "Orders in Council".

(a) All ships trading with France and her allies would be seized.

(b) Neutral ships must touch British ports before going to the Continent.

(3) **Milan Decrees (1807)**. Napoleon retaliated by issuing further decrees from Milan. Even neutral ships coming from British colonies would be seized.

(4) **Fontainebleau Decrees (1810)**. By these decrees he allowed the burning of British goods if they had found their way into European ports.

Results of the Economic Warfare

(i) **British Trade hit adversely**. For some time the British trade was hard hit and British goods could not go to European markets.

(ii) **No Foreign Goods for France**. But, at the same time, Britain made sure that no foreign goods reached France.

(iii) **War with the Neutrals**. The economic warfare involved Great Britain in a war with the neutral powers particularly with Denmark. The British navy defeated the Danish fleet at Copenhagen, before it could fall into French hands.

(iv) **Scarcity of Food in Europe—Smuggling—Rise in Prices—Unpopularity of Napoleon**. The English blockade of the continent was so complete, that the prices of consumer goods and foodstuffs shot up and soon there was shortage of food on the Continent. People had to suffer terrible hardships and Napoleon and his Continental System became very unpopular. Napoleon had to make exceptions to his own decrees, on realizing the failure of his schemes. Smuggling of British goods became quite common and defeated the purpose of the Continental System. *

* The British navy was supreme at sea, the French navy or that of her allies was weak and, therefore, the British could enforce the Orders-in-Council, whereas the French could not blockade successfully the British Isles.

(v) **Defiance of the Continental System and renewed warfare.** Faced with shortage of foodstuff and the possibility of internal insurrection several countries refused to adhere to the Continental System. Portugal was the first to give a lead to other European countries. Spain and later Russia followed suit. Napoleon was exasperated and declared war on Portugal.

Causes of the Failure of the Continental System

The Commercial War against Great Britain could not be successful on account of the following reasons:

(1) **Supremacy of the British Navy.** The British navy was supreme at sea and successfully carried out a blockade of Europe and almost starved France and her allies.

(2) **Allies of France did not co-operate.** All allies of France did not co-operate with Napoleon in enforcing the Continental System. They encouraged smuggling and so made the system ineffective.

The Continental System hit the Dutch trade very adversely and in the interests of his subjects Louis Napoleon refused to accept it and so he was removed from the throne.

(3) **Portuguese Revolt.** Portugal defied Napoleon and precipitated the Peninsular War.

THE PENINSULAR WAR (1808-14)

The Continental System soon involved France in a bitter struggle with Portugal and Spain.

Causes of the War

(1) **Portugal's refusal to adhere to the Continental System.** Portugal had been carrying on a very lucrative trade with the British Isles and her colonies where her "wines" had found a very paying market. The Continental System hit her foreign trade very badly and therefore Prince John, the Regent, refused to accept the System and appealed to Great Britain for help.

(2) **Proposal to Partition Portugal.** Portugal's revolt, annoyed Napoleon, who decided to use force. He made an alliance with Spain and got her consent to allow French troops to march against Portugal through Spain, and promised to partition

Portugal with Spain. But in reality he had no such intentions: it was a mere bluff.

(3) **Dethronement of Charles IV of Spain—Joseph Bonaparte placed on the throne.** French troops under Junot invaded Portugal through Spain and occupied Lisbon. The Portuguese royal family fled to Brazil.

The Spanish suspected Napoleon's intentions and consequently the French alliance was extremely unpopular in Spain and in protest Spanish nationalists rose in revolt under Crown Prince Ferdinand. At this stage Charles IV abdicated in favour of his son. But Napoleon did not approve of this change and invited Charles and Ferdinand to a conference at Bayonne on French territory to settle their dispute, and forced Charles to abdicate and pensioned him. Ferdinand was imprisoned and Napoleon placed his elder brother Joseph Bonaparte on the throne of Spain (1808).

(4) **Rise of Spanish Nationalism.** The Spanish people were annoyed with Napoleon for imposing Joseph on the Spanish throne against their wishes. Their national pride was hurt and thousands of Spanish patriots rose in revolt against the "usurper". Local "juntas" were formed to guide and carry on the national struggle.

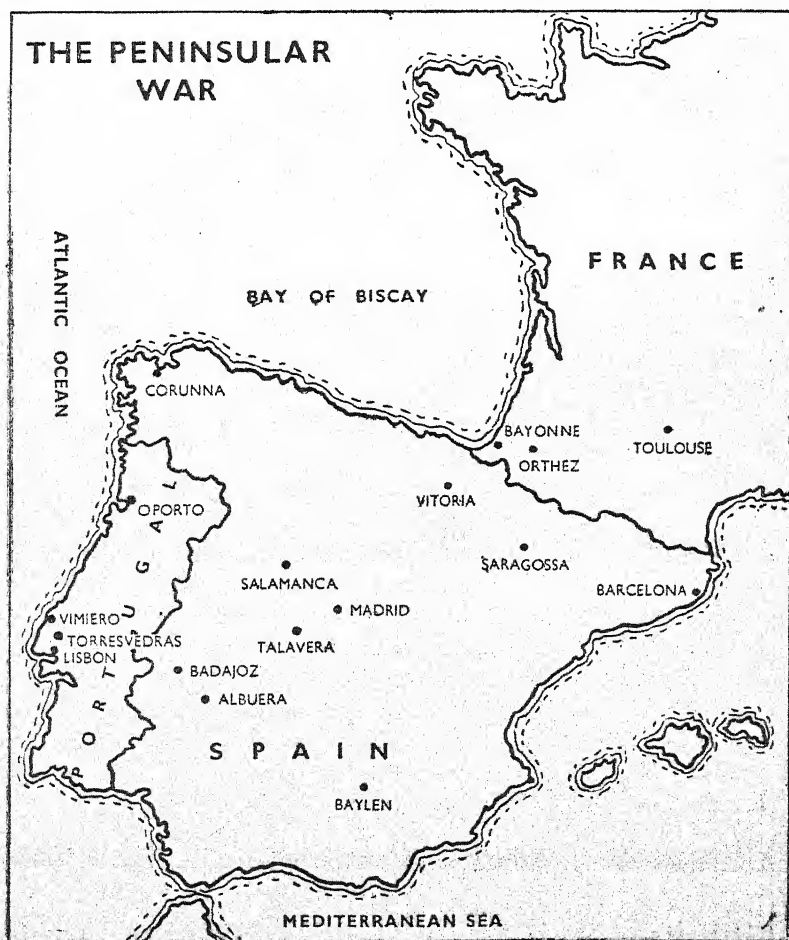
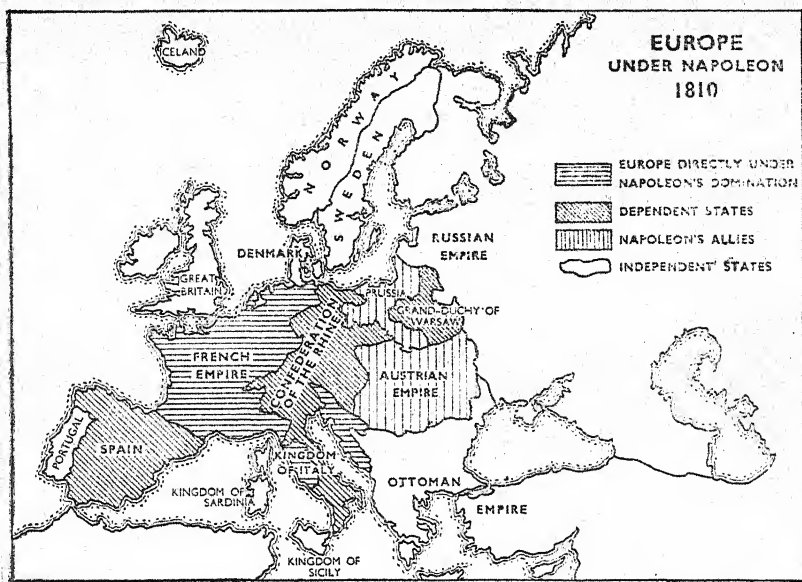
British support. Great Britain offered to help both Spain and Portugal in their struggle against Napoleon, and Arthur Wellesley was appointed British Commander.

Course of the Struggle

June, 1808. The Spanish nationalist guerrillas successfully harassed the French armies and cut off their supplies.

At first Napoleon underestimated the strength of the Spanish opposition, but he was soon disillusioned when a French army was held at Saragossa by a horde of Spanish peasants led by Palafox, and another French army of 23,000 men under Dupont capitulated at Baylen. These were terrible blows to French arms and prestige.

August, 1808. Wellesley landed in Portugal and defeated Junot at Vimiero. By the Convention of Cintra, French forces were foolishly allowed to withdraw with the spoils of war by Burrard and Dalrymple who had superseded Wellesley on the eve of the war. The two generals were later recalled and court-



martialled for their inefficiency and Wellesley was restored to the command of the British forces.

October, 1808. Napoleon himself marched into Spain to crush the national risings and entered Madrid.

1809. Sir John Moore, who had been commanding British forces in the absence of Wellesley, advanced up to Salamanca, but then withdrew. He engaged the French armies at Corunna and thus relieved French pressure in the south and saved southern Spain from being overrun by the French. Moore was killed but he had saved Spain. He was hurriedly buried before the British forces retreated. Soult then captured Oporto.

Revolt in Austria (1809)

The news of the successful risings of the Spanish patriots inspired the Austrians too to reassert their national self-respect and Austria revolted against the Continental System.

The Austrian revolt drew Napoleon back to the East, and he appointed Soult to conduct the Peninsular War. But the Austrian War distracted a large number of French soldiers who were recalled from Spain to fight against Austria.

Meanwhile, Wellesley had resumed command of the British and Portuguese forces and he recaptured Oporto and drove the French out of Portugal.

Wellesley next invaded Spain and defeated Victor at Talavera. Wellesley was created a peer on winning this brilliant victory.

1810. Napoleon appointed Massena to reconquer Portugal. Wellesley's policy was:

- (1) to cut off the French lines of communication and to starve them; and
- (2) to construct a triple line of defence called the *Lines of Torres Vedras*.

Massena advanced but was defeated at Busaco. Then Wellesley retired behind the Lines of Torres Vedras.

The Lines of Torres Vedras played a very significant part in the French defeat and marked the turning point in the Peninsular War. The French found themselves helpless against Wellesley's strategy.

1811. The English again defeated Massena at Fuentes d'onoro and at Albuera.

1812. Wellesley, now Lord Wellington, captured Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz.

In 1812, Napoleon declared war on Russia and a large contingent was withdrawn from the Spanish front to join the Russian campaign. This further weakened the French in Spain.

Wellington defeated the French General Marmont at Salamanca and entered Madrid. Joseph Bonaparte retired to Ebro.

1812. The Spanish patriots at Cadiz drafted a liberal constitution for Spain, based on the sovereignty of the people. The king was allowed only a "suspensive" veto.

1813. At Vittoria, Wellington gained another decisive victory over Joseph Bonaparte and Jourdan and drove the French to the Pyrenees.

1814. Wellington invaded France and defeated Soult at Orthez and Toulouse. French resistance completely collapsed.

WAR WITH AUSTRIA (1809)

There was great enthusiasm in Austria when the news of the risings of Spanish patriots and their victories at Saragossa and Baylen reached there. A new national army was reorganized and the Austrians were roused by the example of Spain and on the advice of Count Stadion declared war on Bavaria.

Napoleon was in Spain, when he heard the news of the Austrian revolt and hurried back to deal with it.

In May 1809, he defeated the Austrians after fiercely fought battles at Abensberg, Eckmühl and Landshut and once again occupied Vienna.

But an Austrian army under Archduke Charles defeated the French at Aspern.

However, the Austrian victory was short-lived. Napoleon dealt a crushing defeat at Wagram and forced Austria to sue for peace.

The Peace of Vienna or Schonbrunn (1809).

(1) Austria ceded Western Galicia to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw.

(2) Austria gave Eastern Galicia to Russia.

(3) A heavy war indemnity was imposed on Austria.

(4) Austrian forces were reduced to 1,50,000 men.

(5) Austria agreed to adhere to the Continental System.

1810. Napoleon wanted an heir to the throne and was eager to marry an Austrian Princess and so in 1810 he divorced Josephine and married Marie Louise, daughter of Emperor Francis I.

Spanish Revolt and its Reaction in Prussia

Prussia had been terribly humbled by the Treaty of Tilsit and she realized that her defeat and downfall were due to the backwardness of her people. Therefore, she must carry out reforms and improve the army and administration. So when the news of the Spanish uprisings reached Prussia, a series of liberal reforms were introduced by Stein and Hardenberg. Serfdom and class privileges were abolished. A Council of Ministers was established. Industry and agriculture were reorganized. The army was remodelled. According to the terms of the Treaty of Tilsit, her army had been reduced to 42,000 soldiers. So, as soon as 42,000 soldiers were trained, they were disbanded and another army was raised. In this way, Prussia made preparations to wreak her vengeance on Napoleon when the opportune moment arrived and so she was fully prepared to play her part in the War of Liberation in 1813.

THE RUSSIAN CAMPAIGN (1812)

Napoleon who was already surrounded by difficulties in Spain and in Germany added one more to them. Soon differences arose between him and the Tsar and drew him into the wildest of his adventures, the Russian Campaign of 1812.

Causes of differences with the Tsar

(1) **Mutual distrust.** The friendship between Napoleon and Alexander was only short-lived. They bitterly distrusted each other. The Tsar regarded the creation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw as a "thorn in his side". Moreover he did not approve of Napoleon's marriage to the Archduchess Marie Louise.

(2) **Tsar's repudiation of the Continental System.** Alexander had accepted the Continental System in 1807, but soon he discovered how adversely it affected his people. The whole economy of Russia was upset by not allowing the export of Russian corn to Great Britain. There were angry protests and agitation by the grain dealers. Alexander yielded before popular demands and relaxed his application of the Continental System and refused to close Russian ports to neutral shipping. He also adopted a system of tariffs which was unfavourable to France and more favourable to neutral countries.

Preparations for War

The Tsar's repudiation of the Continental System infuriated Napoleon who made grand preparations for a war with Russia. A "Grande Armee" was raised. His allies sent supporting contingents; Prussia supplied 20,000 soldiers, Austria 30,000, and Germans from the Confederation of the Rhine numbered 150,000; besides these there were large contingents from Italy and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Having made elaborate arrangements, Napoleon embarked on the maddest and most ruinous of his adventures in June, 1812.

The Tsar too had made great preparations to resist Napoleon. Through the good offices of Great Britain he concluded treaties with Turkey and Sweden and so ensured against treachery or a stab in the back by them.

The Course of the Campaign—Russian Tactics

Napoleon and his hordes reached the Russian border without any opposition. By August he reached Smolensk and yet the great Russian army was nowhere in sight. The Russian army was ill-equipped and not well-trained and Alexander realized the danger of meeting a defeat in open combat.

Therefore his strategy was to keep on retreating and devastating the villages and crops on the way, so that the advancing French armies might get no food. Only once did the Russians venture to fight under Kutusoff at Borodino, where they were heavily defeated.

The Russians were roused by an upsurge of nationalism and no sacrifice was too great for them in the defence of their motherland. So far Napoleon's armies had been fed by the countries invaded. But now there was no Russian food available, and all his calculations and plans broke down. Undaunted, he continued the advance and reached Moscow in September. It was a city in flames. The Russians had destroyed all food and as many buildings as they could, and had deserted the city. Napoleon's discomfiture was great.

Retreat from Moscow (October, 1812). Napoleon tried to negotiate peace with Alexander but the latter, under the influence of the Prussian minister Stein, was in no mood to come to terms with Napoleon. So Napoleon had no alternative but to order a general retreat.

On the way back the French armies suffered miserably on account of the following factors:

✓(1) The Russian guerrillas harassed the retreating French armies.

(2) There was no food available and the French soldiers began to die of hunger and starvation.

(3) The French were terribly exhausted physically.

(4) The severe Russian winter with rain, sleet and snow completely overwhelmed the French who were not equipped to face it.

Marshal Ney fought valiant rear-guard actions to save the demoralized French army, but "the retreat became a rout".

With superhuman effort, Napoleon crossed the river Niemen in December, 1812.

The French losses were colossal; 5,00,000 soldiers were sacrificed to Napoleon's wild venture of the Russian invasion.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION (1813)

Causes

(1) **Prussian Resurgence and the Retreat from Moscow.** The ignominious retreat from Moscow considerably demoralized the French army and lowered Napoleon's prestige in Europe, particularly in Germany. Prussia which had been utterly humiliated by the Treaty of Tilsit took advantage of the French debacle.

There was a great national awakening in Germany and particularly in Prussia as a result of the writings of the German poets, philosophers, etc. The Prussian patriots rose in revolt in different parts of the kingdom against Napoleonic oppression and prevailed upon Frederick William III to fight against Napoleon. Prussia had made in 1809 great preparations for the impending struggle and had raised in the last three to four years a formidable army for the day of liberation.

(2) **Russo-Prussian Alliance.** By the *Treaty of Kalisch*, Prussia and Russia joined together and declared war on Napoleon. Napoleon was quick to take the initiative and strike. He defeated the combined armies of the Russians and Prussians at Lutzen and Bautzen. At this stage Austria offered mediation.

(3) **The Fourth Coalition (1813).** Great Britain raised the

Fourth Coalition against France. She was joined by Russia and Prussia.

Attitude of Austria

Austria played a waiting game. On the one hand, she was jealous of the growing power of Russia; on the other, there was no agreement with Prussia over the future of Germany. Prussia wanted to turn Napoleon out of Germany by force and achieve German unity while Austria wanted to negotiate peace with Napoleon and finally the Austrian view prevailed.

Metternich's Offer. Therefore Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, proposed the following terms to Napoleon:

(1) Prussian territory should be restored to what it was before the Treaty of Tilsit.

(2) Poland should be repartitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria.

(3) Austria should get back all her Italian possessions.

(4) The Confederation of the Rhine should be dissolved.

(5) Hamburg and Lubeck should become 'free' ports.

Napoleon was indignant at these terms and rejected them.

Austria also joined the Fourth Coalition.

Napoleon was still strong and he defeated the Austrians at Dresden.

The Battle of Leipzig (1813). But he was overwhelmed by the allies and was decisively defeated at the Battle of Leipzig or "the battle of the Nations".

Leipzig sealed his fate. He now fled to France.

Napoleon suffered tremendous losses. His defeat resulted in the break up of his empire and the Confederation of the Rhine and the Kingdom of Westphalia collapsed. Holland, Denmark and Italian provinces rose in revolt.

Offer of Peace (November, 1813). Under Austrian influence the allies offered him peace on the following terms:

(1) Napoleon should recognize the independence of Germany, Italy, Holland and Spain.

(2) The Rhine, Alps and Pyrenees would form the French boundaries.

These were very liberal terms in view of the fact that Napoleon had been almost crippled on account of very heavy losses in the Peninsular War, the Russian campaign and the War of Liberation.

Though he had been badly mauled, his spirit was not yet crushed. He thought wrongly that he could still raise another army as formidable as the ones which won the battles of Austerlitz and Jena. He forgot that the flower of French chivalry and bravery had been already sacrificed in the three campaigns. The urge for vengeance on Prussia and Russia had the better of his judgement, and he rejected these terms.

ALLIED INVASION OF FRANCE (1814)

The allies made the Treaty of Chaumont pledging not to make peace individually. The allied armies therefore marched from all sides upon France. Wellington invaded from Spain, Prussia under Blucher from the Rhine, Austria under Schwarzenburg from Switzerland and Bernadotte, the Crown Prince of Sweden, from the north-east. Bernadotte had a distant hope of acquiring the French crown if, after Napoleon's fall, the Bourbons were not restored.

Napoleon was hopelessly outnumbered and though he defeated Blucher at the battle of Marne, he was overwhelmed by the allies who marched upon Paris.

The Senate deposed him and he abdicated. Paris surrendered on 31 March 1814.

The Treaty of Fontainebleau (1814). The allies made a "personal" treaty with Napoleon and granted him the following terms:

(1) Napoleon should renounce his claim and that of his descendants to the throne of France.

(2) He should retire to the island of Elba, with the title of Emperor and should exercise full sovereign sway there.

(3) An annual pension of two million francs was granted to him.

(4) His family would get another pension of two and a half million francs.

(5) His wife Marie Louise, the Austrian princess would get the Duchy of Parma.

Napoleon retired to Elba in April 1814. Louis XVIII, brother of the unfortunate Louis XVI, was restored to his ancestral throne and the allies made the First Treaty of Paris with France.

First Treaty of Paris (1814)

Talleyrand the French diplomat, succeeded in persuading Tsar Alexander I to agree to the "principle of legitimacy" and so the Bourbons were restored to the French throne. The allies also granted very liberal terms to France.

- (1) French boundaries were reduced to what they were in 1792.
- (2) No indemnity was imposed on France.
- (3) No army of occupation was sent to France.
- (4) France was not asked to surrender the treasures of Art which Napoleon had brought from Italy and other places.
- (5) The Bourbons were restored to the French throne.
- (6) The balance of the indemnity imposed upon Prussia under the Treaty of Tilsit was cancelled.

Criticism of the Treaty

(a) Though France had been completely defeated, yet the allies offered her very liberal terms and no indemnity was imposed on her, nor was she asked to surrender her collection of Art, though France had always imposed indemnity on the vanquished foe.

(b) French boundaries were still larger than what they were on the eve of the Revolution.

The Congress of Vienna

Napoleon by his conquests had so upset the political structure of Europe that it was almost impossible to restore all the deposed monarchs. So, for the purpose of redrawing the political map of Europe, a Congress of rulers and diplomats met at Vienna.

The Hundred Days

While the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna were in session and indulging in dancing and merry-making, or quarrelling about the future of European States, Napoleon escaped from Elba.

His grievances against the allies were:

- (1) that his pension had not been paid, and
- (2) letters to his wife Marie Louise were censored.

He landed at Cannes in the south of France amidst great rejoicing. His march to Paris was triumphant and thousands

of old soldiers and others lined his route to Paris. Louis XVIII fled to England on hearing of his landing.

Once again Napoleon was Emperor of France. He issued a manifesto to his subjects telling them that he had returned to France to save them from the vengeance of the returning *émigrés* and to secure to them their rights of liberty, equality and fraternity.

BATTLE OF WATERLOO (1815)

The allies who had assembled in Vienna got ready to fight and the final battle of the Napoleonic drama was fought on 18 June, 1815 at Waterloo. Napoleon was out-numbered and out-maneuvred by Wellington and Blücher whose timely arrival tilted the scales against Napoleon. He was completely defeated at Waterloo where "the last act of a tragedy, the end of an age and the beginning of another" was enacted.

He was pursued to Paris. He abdicated in favour of his son on 22 June, and surrendered himself to Captain Maitland of the British Warship *Bellerophon*.

He was exiled to St. Helena, where he died in 1821.

SECOND TREATY OF PARIS (1815)

The allies made the second peace of Paris with France. Its terms were as follows:

(1) French boundaries were reduced to what they were in 1790.

(2) A heavy indemnity of £ 28,000,000 was imposed on France.

(3) An army of occupation was sent to France to stay till the indemnity was paid.

(4) All treasures of Art were to be surrendered to the countries to which they belonged.

Conclusion. After almost 23 years of incessant warfare, France was to have peace for some time.

Though the Monarchy was restored, and the Bourbons were once again back on their ancestral throne, much of the work of the Revolution endured. Feudalism and the privileges of the nobles and clergy were abolished for good, liberty and equality for all citizens had been guaranteed. A uniform system of

administration had been established. A common law code, the code Napoleon, was applied to the whole country and taxation was equally shared by all classes of society. The Bourbons were restored, but absolute monarchy was not restored. Louis XVIII was called back to the throne as a constitutional ruler. The principles of the Revolution had after all triumphed over absolutism.

CAUSES OF THE DOWNFALL OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon, "the man of Destiny" and the "son of the Revolution", had a phenomenal rise. The forces of the Revolution threw him into the limelight from comparative oblivion, and once he had grasped the public gaze in dispersing the Paris mob with great alacrity and success in 1795, he continued to climb higher and higher till he became Emperor of France in 1804. He so dominated the French and European stage that the period of his ascendancy — the years 1799–1815 — is called the "Napoleonic era". His hold on Europe during this period was complete and the destiny of Europe depended on his whims and fancies.

Napoleon was a genius, both as an administrator and as a general. His finest qualities of leadership and generalship always came to the forefront in times of adversity. He was a master of strategy and brilliant campaigning. He was essentially a soldier and his inherent love of conquest and domination in the long run alienated the whole of Europe and roused bitter national animosity against which he could do nothing. The whole of Europe was arrayed against him and finally was responsible for his overthrow.

Military Causes

(1) **Enormous losses in the Peninsular War, the Russian Campaign and the War of Liberation.** Napoleon was at war for a long time and suffered enormous losses in the three campaigns. During the Russian campaign and the War of Liberation nearly 1,000,000 of his soldiers were killed, and these heavy losses practically exhausted the military strength of France. The flower of the French army had been sacrificed in these campaigns and the new armies were perhaps not of the same mettle.

(2) **French Army not Homogeneous but Heterogeneous.** During the Russian campaign, the French army was heterogeneous,

consisting of Germans, Poles, Italians, etc., who were not imbued with the Revolutionary spirit of the French and hence they were not as zealous fighters as the French.

(3) **Conscription not popular.** Conscription, which he had to introduce to fight his enemies, was not popular. The new army lacked the ardour of those who had won the battles of, Austerlitz and Jena.

(4) **Militant Nationalism of French Armies was Tyrannical.** Napoleon's power was essentially based on his armed strength. He used the militant nationalism of the French soldiers for his personal glory and for the glorification of France. The French armies, in the eyes of the foreigners, were instruments of repression and caused untold miseries. The quartering of French soldiers on foreign soils made them hated and finally led to national uprisings.

(5) **Decline in Napoleon's Military Capacity.** Some historians suggest that with growing age there was a visible decline in his military capacity. He was not as great a genius of campaigning in the final stages of the conflict, as he was in the Italian campaign or in the battles of Austerlitz and Jena. But perhaps it was not so. He showed the same skill and capacity on the eve of the battle of Waterloo also, but he was hopelessly outnumbered. Against overwhelming odds his military genius was ineffective.

(6) **British Naval Supremacy.** The British supremacy at sea was responsible for the loss of overseas colonies and the trade of France. The British navy also carried out a successful blockade of the Continent and Great Britain could always send help to Portugal and Spain in the Peninsular War.

Political Causes

(1) **Continental System a great blunder.** The promulgation of the Continental System was a leap in the dark. It could not be enforced without naval superiority which France lacked and was responsible for a good deal of popular discontent against Napoleon, as it led to scarcity of food and the rise in prices. It also finally led to the breach with allies like Portugal, Spain and Russia. Subsequently, there were revolts in these countries and involved him in wars on all sides.

(2) **Too many Enemies.** By his policy of conquest and the

introduction of the Continental System he created far too many enemies. The whole of Europe in the last stages of the conflict was hostile to him.

(3) **Rise of Nationalism in conquered countries.** Another blunder that Napoleon made was the complete disregard of the national feelings of the conquered countries. The French Revolution had given rise to nationalism all over Europe, and all nations aspired to be independent and sovereign and wanted to overthrow their reactionary rulers and the old regime. But when Napoleon began to depose the legitimate rulers and placed his own brothers and kinsmen on the thrones of the conquered countries, their national self-respect was hurt. They revolted against Napoleon who was regarded as a usurper trying to enslave them for his personal glorification. The Spanish rising inspired Austria, Prussia and Russia to rise and oppose Napoleon.

(4) **Lack of Diplomatic Foresight.** Napoleon missed several opportunities of retaining his power. On the eve of the War of Liberation and after the defeat at Leipzig, the allies offered him very liberal terms, which he refused to accept in his eagerness to have his revenge on his foes. It was a very great blunder on his part, particularly when he had lost so heavily in man-power in the Russian Campaign and the War of Liberation.

Chapter 9

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA (1814-15)

IMMEDIATELY AFTER Napoleon's fall in 1814 and his "retirement" to Elba, a Congress of European diplomats was summoned to meet at Vienna to give peace to "a tired and timid generation" and to deal with a number of political problems consequent upon the upheavals caused by the Wars of Revolutionary France and those of the Napoleonic period.

All big and small countries of Europe, except Turkey, were invited. Vienna was chosen as the venue of the Congress in view of the leading part played by Austria in the final overthrow of Napoleon. As a tribute to her noble part in the struggle, her, Chancellor Count Metternich was selected to preside over its deliberations.

THE PROBLEMS BEFORE THE CONGRESS

The Congress had to deal with the following problems:

(1) **Problem of France.** What should be the future government and boundaries of France and what punishment should be meted out to her for causing so much bloodshed during the last 25 years?

(2) **Reconstruction of the Political Map of Europe.** The wars waged by Revolutionary France and Napoleon had completely changed the political map of Europe. Over 200 petty states in Germany had been abolished and the Holy Roman Empire had ceased to exist. New states like the Confederation of the Rhine, the Kingdom of Westphalia, the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Kingdom of Italy, etc. had been created by Napoleon. Boundaries of old states like Austria, Prussia and Russia had been altered several times. In short, the upheaval of the last 25 years had brought about vast political changes in the

boundaries of European states. Therefore, the Congress of Vienna had to redraw the political map of Europe and was confronted with the problem of whether to restore or not the old princes who had been dispossessed of their States by France.

THE LEADING PERSONALITIES AT THE CONGRESS

It will be interesting to analyse the character of the leading diplomats in whose hands the destinies of Europe were entrusted. Tsar Alexander I of Russia, Emperor Francis I of Austria, King Frederick William III of Prussia and the Kings of Denmark, Bavaria and Wurttemberg represented their respective countries.

"The Congress was a pageant", and was associated with much gaiety, feasting and merry-making. The representatives of various countries indulged in an eating and drinking orgy to celebrate their deliverance from the tyranny of Napoleon.

In this galaxy of monarchs and diplomats, the following persons stood out by virtue of their towering personality and they played a significant part in the deliberations of the Congress.

(1) Foremost among them was **Tsar Alexander I**, a great idealist and dreamer who was swayed at times by the high ideals of the gospel of Christianity and sometimes was dominated by selfish motives. He was a curious combination of "shrewdness with mysticism, ambition with compassion". He was young, imaginative and liberal in his outlook, but was "changeable and egoistic and influenced by fear". On the whole, he stood for a just and fair settlement.

(2) **Emperor Francis I** of Austria was obstinate and narrow-minded and reactionary in his outlook. "Keep yourselves to what is old, for that is good" was his principle.

(3) **King Frederick William III** of Prussia was slow, timid and weak and a great traditionalist. He was terribly fascinated by the Tsar and was extraordinarily reverential to the Emperor.

(4) **Metternich** was the most commanding personality from 1815 to 1848. This period in European History is called the "Era of Metternich". He was the central figure in European diplomacy and was "without a peer in his age or in his style". He was a shrewd statesman and was a pastmaster in diplomacy, tact and finesse. Like his master, the Emperor, he was also a great reactionary and the most vehement opponent of liberalism.

He distrusted all innovations and new ideas and therefore tried his best to maintain the old order.

(5) **Lord Castlereagh**, the representative of Great Britain, was essentially liberal in his outlook, and was an astute statesman, who wielded considerable influence in bringing about compromises when there were deadlocks among the allies.

(6) **Talleyrand**, who represented France, was cunning, shrewd and quick to take advantage of the differences among the allies. He had a very keen sense of observation and could exploit the weaknesses of others to his own advantage. He served France ably and saved her from utter humiliation by flattery, chicanery and intrigue. He was so successful in his mission, that, though a representative of the vanquished country, he played a leading role in laying down the policy which formed the basis of the settlement of Vienna. The "Big Four", Austria, Great Britain, Russia and Prussia, had to admit him to their counsels.

THE AIMS OF THE CONGRESS

The deliberations of the Congress had been temporarily suspended by Napoleon's escape from Elba. After his final defeat at Waterloo, it once again continued with its meetings. Its aims were as follows:

(1) **To Redraw the Political Map of Europe.** The wars of the last 23 years had so changed the political boundaries that it was impossible to restore all the European states which existed in 1789. It was not easy to restore the Holy Roman Empire, as the boundaries of some states had been altered several times. The 200 and odd German princes who had been dethroned by Napoleon could not be restored. Notwithstanding this difficulty the Congress still aimed as far as possible to restore the old rulers to their original boundaries.

(2) **To Secure permanent Peace in Europe.** Revolutionary ideas should be nipped in the bud: never again should France be allowed to spread the principles of Revolution. All germs of liberal opinion must be promptly destroyed.

Therefore, the Congress aimed at suppressing all revolutionary movements, wherever they raised their head. For the next 10 years or so, the Congress tried to suppress liberalism in Europe by means of the "Concert of Europe" or by means of an alliance of Great Powers.

(3) To surround France by a Ring of strong States.

France should not be allowed to disturb the peace of Europe in future, and hence she should be surrounded by strong and powerful states on her frontiers. To achieve this end, Prussia, Netherlands and Sardinia were made strong by the addition of large territories so that they might form a bulwark against any further French aggression.

(4) To distribute the Spoils of War among the Allies.

All those countries which had fought against France were to be rewarded at the cost of France and those who had helped her. Therefore territories snatched away from France or her allies were distributed among those who had fought against France. In short, the aim of the Congress was to "divide among the conquerors the spoils of the conquered".

PRINCIPLES ON WHICH THE CONGRESS BASED
ITS SETTLEMENT

The Congress mainly worked on the following threefold principles:

(1) The Principle of "Legitimacy". Metternich's aim was to restore as far as possible the "rightful" rulers to their old states. This idea was in agreement with the principle of "legitimacy" which was ably propounded by Talleyrand who cleverly won over Tsar Alexander I to accept this principle and thus saved France for the Bourbons.

In pursuance of this principle, the Bourbons were restored in France and to the thrones of Spain and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies. The House of Orange was restored in Holland, the House of Savoy got Sardinia and Piedmont, and Austria regained Tyrol.

(2) The Principle of "Balance of Power" or "Compensation". But the principle of legitimacy could not be applied to all the States, because during the course of the long wars Great Britain had conquered and annexed a number of colonies belonging to France or to her allies. All of them could not be restored. The British navy had played a very significant role in defeating Napoleon and her services could not be ignored by the Congress. Therefore, she was allowed to appropriate most of the conquered colonies like Mauritius, Tobago, Malta,

etc. But those countries besides France which had lost their territories, were compensated in order to maintain the balance of power. Holland got Belgium; Sweden which had lost Finland to Russia was compensated with Norway, and Austria which had renounced her claim to the Austrian Netherlands was rewarded with territories in Italy.

(3) **To Suppress the Republics.** The Congress which was dominated by absolute monarchs and reactionary diplomats was hostile to republics and so the Republics of Genoa and Venice were not restored.

DIFFERENCES AMONG THE BIG AND SMALL POWERS

In carrying out the aims and policy of the Congress there were serious differences of opinion among the big and small powers on two issues:

(1) **The Future of France.** The "Big Four" wanted to decide everything themselves and ignored the small powers like Spain, Portugal and Sweden. The latter invoked the Treaty of Paris and claimed an equal say in determining the future of France and Europe. Talleyrand took advantage of this cleavage and played the role of a mediator, thus securing for France a voice in the deliberations of the Congress.

(2) **Differences over Poland and Saxony.** Differences also arose between the "Big Four" over the question of the future of Poland and Saxony. Tsar Alexander, on the eve of the battle of Leipzig, had promised Austria and Prussia a share of Poland. But after the battle he changed his mind and now he wanted to appropriate the whole of Poland. In order to win over Prussia, he proposed that Saxony should be given to her.

Metternich was suspicious of the Tsar's intentions and would not approve of the aggrandizement of Russia and Prussia at the cost of the whole of Poland and Saxony respectively. So supported by Castlereagh he opposed the proposals. And it seemed that the differences between Russia and Prussia on one side and Great Britain and Austria on the other might lead to the failure of the Congress or even to another war. But Talleyrand's diplomacy and tact once again stood him in good stead and he eventually suggested a compromise.

Poland was to be repartitioned between Russia, Prussia

and Austria, but Russia kept the lion's share — the so-called "Congress Poland"; Austria retained Galicia; Prussia got Posen and the Corridor. Two-fifths of Saxony was also given to Prussia.

THE TERRITORIAL SETTLEMENT

Having ironed out the differences, the following territorial readjustments were agreed to by the Congress:

(1) **France** was limited to her boundaries of 1792 (these had been reduced to those of 1790, after the battle of Waterloo, by the second Treaty of Paris).

(2) The Bourbons were restored and Louis XVIII returned to his ancestral throne.

(3) **Holland** received Belgium, and the House of Orange was restored to the United Kingdom of Netherlands. Thus a strong barrier State in the north-east of France was established.

(4) **Prussia** was considerably enlarged by the addition of the following territories:

(a) She retained Posen and the 'Corridor' in Poland.

(b) Sweden gave her Pomerania.

(c) Two-fifths of Saxony was annexed by her.

(d) She also recovered her Rhinish provinces and Cologne and Treves.

Thus a formidable state was created in the east of France as a barrier against French aggression.

(5) **Austria.**

(a) She was compensated for the loss of Austrian Netherlands by the cession of Lombardy and Venetia in Italy.

(b) She recovered Tyrol, Illyrian provinces and Salzburg.

(c) She also got Galicia from Poland.

(6) **A German Confederation** was formed under the leadership of Austria.

(7) **Russia** got the lion's share of Poland. She also got Finland from Sweden.

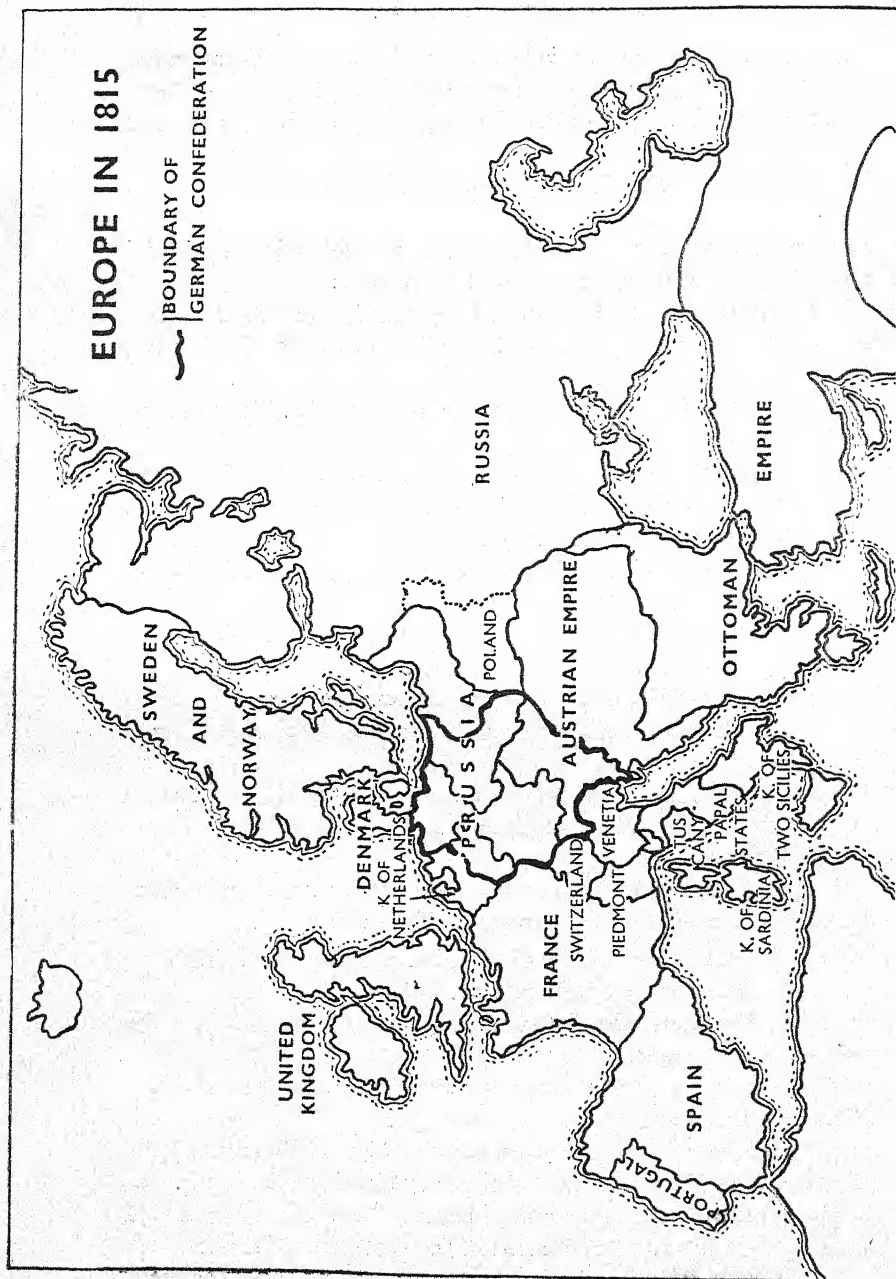
(8) **Sweden** was compensated for the loss of Finland by the annexation of Norway which was taken away from Denmark.

(9) **Sardinia** got Piedmont, Savoy, Nice and Genoa and thus a powerful state was created in the south-east of France.

(10) **Great Britain** retained most of her colonial conquests including Malta, Heligoland in the North Sea, Ionian Islands,

EUROPE IN 1815

BOUNDARY OF
GERMAN CONFEDERATION



Cape Colony, Ceylon, Mauritius, St. Lucia, Tobago and Trinidad. She paid £ 6,000,000 to Holland as compensation.

- (11) Empress Marie Louise got the Duchy of Parma.
- (12) Princes of Modena and Tuscany were restored.
- (13) Papal States were restored.*
- (14) The kings of Spain and Naples were restored.
- (15) Switzerland received three more cantons.
- (16) Hanover became a kingdom.

CRITICISM OF THE TREATY

I *Principle of Legitimacy set aside*

The principle of "legitimacy" was set aside when it did not suit the convenience of the big powers. Many of the old German princes were not restored, nor were the Republics of Venice and Genoa.

II *Greed and Self-interest of the Big Powers*

In making the territorial divisions, the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia indulged in high-sounding phrases like "the reconstruction of the moral order", "the regeneration of the political system of Europe" and "an enduring peace founded on a just redistribution of political forces".

These were mere platitudes to disguise their own selfish and sinister designs. To be exact, "self-interest was the key to the welter of bargains and agreements" at the deliberations of the Congress.

Each of the three eastern states acquired large territories at the cost of their weak and helpless neighbours, who were denied their birth-right of independence and unity in order to ensure a durable peace.

(1) **Russia** annexed the largest share of Poland and thus crushed the hopes and aspirations of the Poles.

(2) **Prussia** was the biggest gainer. Her territories now included the Rhinish states rich in mineral resources and she was by and large a German State now having lost her Slav-Polish subjects.

(3) **Austria** by virtue of her leadership of the German Confederation and of her Italian possessions enjoyed a unique position in Central Europe. She substituted French influence

* Thus Austrian influence was substituted for French in Italy. Italy was reduced to "a geographical expression".

by hers in Italy and reduced Italy to a mere "geographical expression". And in order to maintain her hold in Italy and Germany she ushered in a reactionary era and crushed all liberal movements in Europe.

III *The Principle of Nationality ignored*

The settlement of Vienna completely ignored the principle of nationality in order to uphold the "principle of legitimacy" or to maintain the "balance of power". The national aspirations of the Belgians, Norwegians, Poles, Italians and Germans were completely crushed.

(1) A Catholic Belgium was annexed to a Protestant Holland. The two had nothing in common. Their economy, traditions, languages, etc. were all different.

(2) Sweden was compensated with the annexation of Norway, much against the wishes of the Norwegian people.

(3) Poland ardently hoped to achieve her independence and sovereignty, but to satisfy the greed of the Tsar she was denied her independence.

(4) Italian patriots had been hoping to unite all Italian states into a national state. They received a rude shock when Austria substituted her influence over her for that of France.

(5) German unity could not be achieved and the German patriots felt terribly frustrated because King Frederick William III, who was timid and weak, refused to grasp the leadership of the German people on account of his deference for the Hapsburgs. And Austria under Metternich was positively hostile to the German unification and was interested only in a loose confederation, and finally her will prevailed.

Thus we find that everywhere the spirit of nationalism was crushed under the heels of reactionary monarchs and the Belgians, Italians and Germans had to wait for some time to achieve their independence and unity.

The seeds of discontent were inherent in the very nature and basis of the settlement of Vienna and the next 50 years or so saw a good deal of bloodshed to undo its unjust work.

IV *Peace among Great Powers*

Perhaps the only justification of the Treaty of Vienna lay in the fact that it ensured peace among the Great Powers at least for the

next 40 years. They could not get out of the principle of "legitimacy" or "balance of power" and establish national states, firstly, because on the eve of the War of Liberation they had committed themselves to "compensation" if they were successful in overthrowing Napoleon, and secondly, they were rather scared of the spirit of nationalism which had caused so much bloodshed in Europe.

ADDITIONAL WORK OF THE CONGRESS

In addition to the territorial adjustments, the Congress considered the following questions and took action on them:

(1) **Slave Trade.** Great Britain had already abolished slave trade in 1807. Under her pressure the powers represented at the Congress agreed in principle to abolish slave trade, but left it to the individual States to give effect to this decision at their convenience.

(2) **International Rivers.** Rules and regulations regarding the free navigation of international rivers were also adopted.

(3) **Barbary Corsairs.** Barbary corsairs had been indulging in piracy along the coasts of the Mediterranean and thousands of Christian subjects had been captured and enslaved by them. The Congress of Vienna authorized Great Britain to take action against them and later a British squadron led by Lord Exmouth bombarded Algiers and set free a large number of Christian slaves.

The work of the Congress having been completed to the satisfaction of the Tsar and Metternich, they now wanted to establish an institution to safeguard the peace of Europe and to ensure that revolutionary and liberal movements would not raise their heads in any part of the Continent. Therefore, two more documents were signed at Vienna — the *Holy Alliance* and the *Quadruple Alliance*.

I *The Holy Alliance*

The French Revolution had a deep effect on the mind of the Tsar who was an intensely devout person and who wanted to make sure that an "irreligious" revolution would not again engulf Europe. Moreover, he also wanted to base the settlement on the sacred principles of the Christian religion. All princes

were brothers and the subjects their children; all Christian nations were one family.

So under his inspiration, Russia, Austria and Prussia organized themselves into a "Holy Alliance" whose ostensible object was to exhort their subjects to live according to the teachings of Christianity; to guide the administration and international relations according to "the precepts of that Holy Religion, namely, the precepts of justice, Christian charity and peace". The aim of the Holy Alliance was to "protect religion, peace and justice".

To please Alexander, Austria and Prussia accepted these high-sounding platitudes, but they had no faith in them. Metternich called the Holy Alliance "verbiage, a sonorous nothing, a philanthropic aspiration clothed in religious garb", "an overflow of the pietistic feelings of the Emperor Alexander". Great Britain from the very beginning gave a cold shoulder to the proposal and Castlereagh called it "a piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense".

The real aim of the Holy Alliance was to suppress all liberal movements, and so in the minds of the Europeans the Holy Alliance was synonymous with repression and absolutism.

Since no other great power sincerely believed in its principles, the Holy Alliance was a dead letter from the beginning. The Pope denounced it as the work of a "heretic and a liberal", and so it was never effective as a treaty but certainly it was "a symbol of the political ideal" of the Europe of the day.

II *The Quadruple Alliance (1815) and the Concert of Europe*

It was felt by the Coalition Powers which had overthrown Napoleon that some sort of an institution which would be able to stop further French aggression should also be established. And for the first time, the idea of a joint action to stop future wars was mooted. Consequently, Austria, Russia, Prussia and Great Britain signed a treaty of alliance, known as the *Quadruple Alliance*.

The signatories to the Alliance agreed to act jointly, as a "Concert of Europe", to solve international disputes.

Chief Objects. Its chief objects were as follows:

- (1) To maintain general peace in Europe.
- (2) To make sure that Napoleon or any member of his family did not again endanger peace.
- (3) To ensure that the Second Treaty of Paris was not upset

and to generally supervise over France and to keep the revolutionary French ideas in check.

(4) To maintain the "balance of power".

(5) To meet at intervals for mutual consultation to solve international disputes which might jeopardize the peace and security of Europe.

Differences between Great Britain and the "Holy Alliance"

It was an attempt by the four big powers to govern Europe according to their ideas and in their interests. The chief object of the Quadruple Alliance was to make France harmless and to uphold the second Treaty of Paris.

Point of view of the Holy Alliance

But the Holy Alliance under the inspiration of Metternich wanted to use it as an instrument of repression of all liberal movements within a country even when they might not endanger international peace. According to him all movements for constitutional governments were revolutionary and un-Christian and hence they must be suppressed by the Quadruple Alliance.

British Point of View

Great Britain did not agree with or support this interpretation of the objects of the Quadruple Alliance. According to her, the Alliance was primarily made against France and possible French aggression and it had no right to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

Therefore, gradually a "cleavage" occurred between Great Britain and the three Eastern powers over the issue of intervention in the internal affairs of other countries.

✓ The Quadruple Alliance carried out its objects through Congresses from 1815 to 1822. But the differences between the signatories became more and more pronounced at each Congress and ultimately the "Concert" broke up.

Chapter 10

THE BREAK-UP OF THE "CONCERT OF EUROPE"

IN THE previous chapter we have already discussed the objects of the Quadruple Alliance among the four Coalition Powers which played the most prominent part in the final defeat of Napoleon. These powers wanted to ensure that France would not again upset the peace of Europe. They formed themselves into a "Concert of Europe" and, as guardians of peace, agreed to meet from time to time to solve international problems.

THE CONGRESS OF AACHEN OR AIX-LA-CHAPELLE (1818)

France had carried out her obligations under the terms of the Second Treaty of Paris, the indemnity had been paid, a stable government seemed to have been established and there was no fear of further French aggression. So a Congress of the Quadruple Alliance was held at *Aachen* or *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to decide their future relations with France. It was agreed that the army of occupation should be withdrawn and, on the recommendation of Great Britain, France was admitted to the "Concert of Europe" and the Quadruple Alliance now became a Quintuple Alliance.

The most important object for which the Quadruple Alliance had been made had now disappeared since there was no danger of France upsetting the peace of Europe.

The Holy Alliance Powers now suggested that the Alliance should continue to carry out the following objects:

- (1) They should "police" Europe and suppress all revolutionary movements wherever they raised their head.
- (2) They should meet periodically.

But Great Britain would not approve of these proposals; instead she proposed that:

- (a) They should not intervene in the internal affairs of a

country at all or try to project the activities of the Alliance into peaceful times.

(b) They should meet only when there was a special problem to discuss.

The Holy Alliance wanted to use it as an instrument of repression of all liberal movements but Great Britain would have nothing to do with intervention. So already a marked cleavage between Great Britain and the Holy Alliance had started to appear. This became wider and wider with each Congress.

Quadruple Alliance and the Liberal Movements

The danger of a war between the Great Powers had disappeared by 1818, but liberalism had raised its head in several states and Metternich the arch-enemy of liberalism was alarmed and wanted to crush all constitutional movements wherever they raised their head. He was supported by the Tsar in maintaining the *status quo* in Europe. Great Britain did not subscribe to this point of view.

THE CONGRESS OF TROPPAU (1820)

Why it was summoned

There were liberal movements in two countries, (1) Spain, and (2) the Kingdom of Two Sicilies.

(1) **Revolt in Spain.** During the Peninsular War, the Spanish patriots had drafted a liberal constitution in 1812, but in 1815 Ferdinand VII under pressure from the nobles and the clergy abrogated the constitution and restored absolutism.

In 1820, Colonel Riego, a Spanish patriot, revolted at Cadiz and soon the revolt spread to the whole of Spain. Ferdinand was alarmed and yielded to the popular demand and restored the old constitution.

(2) **Revolt in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies.** After the restoration of the Bourbon king, Ferdinand I, there was much unrest in Naples. The reactionary government was hopelessly corrupt and inefficient and there was terrible repression of the masses. The army too was thoroughly discontented. Carbonari, a secret society of "charcoal burners", had now drawn men from the army and all classes of society with the object of demanding constitutional government.

The news of the successful revolt in Spain and the granting of the liberal constitution of 1812 by Ferdinand VII, roused new hopes in the hearts of Neapolitan patriots, and the army rose in revolt and demanded that the Spanish constitution of 1812 should be granted.

Ferdinand I was threatened into submission and granted a new liberal constitution.

The Spanish and Neapolitan Revolts alarmed Metternich and the Holy Alliance. Metternich was more interested in suppressing the Neapolitan revolt, because if liberal movements succeeded there, they would spread to other Italian States and undermine Austrian influence in Italy. So a Congress was summoned to meet at Troppau.

The Protocol of Troppau

The three Holy Alliance powers condemned the revolutionary movements in Spain and Italy and signed the *Protocol of Troppau*, arrogating to themselves the right to suppress all revolutionary movements in Europe by force. The Protocol laid down the "principle of collective intervention". Tsar Alexander I who had at one time posed as a champion of liberalism had now become thoroughly reactionary on account of an unsuccessful attempt on his own life and the assassination of the Duke of Berry, a nephew of Louis XVIII, by a French liberal. Therefore, he wholeheartedly supported Metternich in suppressing all liberal movements.

The three Eastern powers strongly denounced the revolutionary movements in Naples and summoned Ferdinand to appear before them.

Great Britain strongly protested at this intervention in the internal affairs of Naples, but did not take any further action. The gulf between the points of view of the British and the Holy Alliance was becoming wider.

CONGRESS OF LAIBACH (1821)

In pursuance of the summons under the Protocol of Troppau, Ferdinand I of Naples appeared before the "Concert of Europe". His people had made him take an oath of allegiance to the constitution before they allowed him to go to Laibach. But once in

Laibach, he repudiated his oath, and annulled the constitution and asked the Holy Alliance to restore his absolute power. Austria was authorized to send armed forces which were successful in crushing all revolutionary movements there and Ferdinand once again became an absolute ruler. Great Britain vigorously protested against this wanton repression.

Liberal Movement in Piedmont (1821)

Hardly had the Neapolitan rising been suppressed when an army revolt broke out in Piedmont. King Victor Emmanuel was forced to abdicate in favour of his brother Charles Felix, but as he was away from the country at the time, Charles Albert, another prince, was appointed regent. Charles Albert was terribly anti-Austrian and was a liberal, so he granted a new constitution very similar to the Spanish constitution of 1812. But when Charles Felix returned to the country, he annulled it, and with the help of Austrian troops suppressed the revolutionary movement.

Thus the Protocol of Troppau suppressed the revolutionary movements in the south as well as the north of Italy and Metternich succeeded in restoring reactionary governments there.

THE CONGRESS OF VERONA (1822)

The revolt in Spain had gone on, and the "Concert of Europe" summoned another Congress at *Verona* to deal with the problem of Spain.

Lord Castlereagh, who had committed suicide, was succeeded by Canning who strongly protested against intervention in Spain. But in spite of British opposition, the "Concert" authorized France to send an army into Spain to suppress the popular revolt. The French army crushed the revolt and Ferdinand annulled the constitution and once again became absolute.

The Spanish Colonies and the Monroe Doctrine (1823)

The Spanish colonies in South America had been in revolt since, 1809, and had become independent. Now the Holy Alliance wanted to intervene and restore them to Spain. Great Britain strongly opposed any intervention by the Holy Alliance. She even proposed to the United States to take joint action against

the Holy Alliance. The United States did not accept the British offer, but President Monroe issued the famous Monroe Doctrine (1823) and warned the European Powers that the United States would not allow any European Power to intervene in the internal affairs of any American country. She would regard any such attempt as most "unfriendly" to her.

Great Britain which had accorded recognition to the Spanish colonies in revolt soon after Spain was overrun by the French troops (1809) now formally recognized the independence of Mexico and Colombia. Metternich felt embittered but was helpless to take any action in view of President Monroe's warning. The Holy Alliance protested but gave up the idea of armed intervention.

The Monroe Doctrine and the British recognition of the independence of the Spanish colonies dealt the first blow to the "Concert of Europe".

Trouble in Portugal

During the Peninsular War, King John VI had fled to Brazil but he returned to Portugal in 1821 leaving his eldest son Pedro as regent there. The Revolutionary Party in Portugal demanded a liberal constitution and he granted the Spanish constitution of 1812. But his second son Miguel did not approve of it and revolted against his father. Canning, who supported the King, sent a British fleet to help him. The revolt collapsed.

Brazil, which was a Portuguese colony, declared its independence in 1822 under Pedro, the eldest son of King John. Portugal recognized her independence. King John died in 1826, but Pedro, his eldest son, did not want to return to Portugal, and so he renounced his claim to the Portuguese throne in favour of his daughter Maria. Miguel, his younger brother and his supporters again rose in revolt against Maria, but Great Britain sent her troops to Lisbon and warned other European Powers not to intervene. The Holy Alliance felt frustrated and the "Concert of Europe" received another blow and it finally broke up.

Conclusion. Great Britain, as champion of the liberal movements, played a notable part in arresting the reactionary policy of the Holy Alliance. She succeeded in Spain and Portugal, though for a time the liberal movements had been suppressed in Italy. The sympathetic attitude of Great Britain towards constitutional movements and the warning of President Monroe (1823) finally brought about the collapse of the "Concert of Europe".

Chapter 11

INTERNAL HISTORY OF FRANCE UP TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

LOUIS XVIII, younger brother of the unfortunate Louis XVI who was executed in 1793, was restored to the ancestral throne in 1814 on the defeat of Napoleon and his "retirement" to Elba. He was cynical, old, and at heart a reactionary. But years of exile and the stay in Great Britain had sobered him a little. So when he returned to Paris, he did not try to restore the Ancien Regime, though the Tricolour was replaced by the Bourbon White flag. He dared not undo the work of the Revolution and therefore retained much of its work. He issued a new Charter to his people.

THE CHARTER OF 1814

The Charter embodied the revolutionary principles, and remained the constitution of France up to 1848.

Its Provisions

Louis XVIII was deeply influenced by his stay in Great Britain and by the British Constitution, and his Charter reflected this influence to some extent, particularly in the composition of the legislature and the electoral laws.

(1) **The Executive**

(a) The King had all the executive powers and appointed his ministers who were responsible to him and not to the legislature.

(b) He was the supreme commander of the army and navy and could declare war or make peace.

(c) He made all appointments to public services.

(d) All legislation was proposed by the King.

(e) The King appointed some members of the Chamber of Peers.

(2) Legislature

(a) There were two houses of legislature:

(i) **The Chamber of Peers.** It consisted of the hereditary nobles (like the British House of Lords) and some members nominated by the King.

(ii) **The Chamber of Deputies.** It was elected for five years.

Qualifications of Members. They must not be less than 40 years of age and must pay at least 1000 francs per year in direct taxes.

Qualifications of the electorate. The voters must not be less than 30 years old and must pay at least 300 francs per year in direct taxes.

(b) All laws were proposed by the King; the Legislature had only the right to reject or pass them.

(c) No taxes could be levied without the consent of the legislature.

(3) Civil Rights guaranteed to all citizens.

(a) All Frenchmen were guaranteed equality before law and in appointments to civil and military posts.

(b) No person could be imprisoned without a fair trial.

(c) Trial by jury was guaranteed to all.

(d) Complete religious freedom was granted.

(e) No special privileges were conferred on the nobles and they were not exempted from taxation. All class distinctions and privileges were abolished.

(4) Other Provisions.

(a) Napoleonic nobility was placed on an equality with the old nobility.

(b) Property confiscated during the Revolution was not to be restored.

(c) The Legion of Honour was retained.

Importance of the Charter

(1) It remained the Constitution of France up to 1848.

(2) It did not restore absolute monarchy but much of the work of the Revolution was recognized and accepted by the King. The Bourbon monarchy recognized the democratic constitution of society and retained the administrative system and the laws (Code Napoleon) of the Napoleonic regime.

(3) It was granted by the King and was not imposed on him and, therefore, it was not inconsistent with the "Divine Right of Kings", to which the Bourbons still adhered.

The Hundred Days and Napoleon's Return

Hardly had Louis XVIII been on his throne for a few months when news of Napoleon's escape and landing at Cannes reached Paris. Louis was alarmed and without fighting for his throne fled the country. Napoleon entered Paris triumphantly and once again became Emperor.

SECOND RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII

After Napoleon's final defeat at Waterloo in 1815, the allies, who brought him "in their baggage train", once again restored Louis XVIII to the throne of France. He reaffirmed the Charter of 1814.

Characteristics of the Restoration

(1) **Bourbons Restored but not Absolute Monarchy.** The restoration of the Bourbons did not mean the restoration of absolutism also. The democratic achievements of the Revolution could not be dispensed with and so Louis was enthroned as a constitutional monarch. Much of the work of the Revolution like the 'Concordat', the Napoleonic Code, Napoleonic system of administration, the Bank of France and the Legion of Honour was retained by him.

(2) **Unpopularity of Louis XVIII.** There were two reasons for his unpopularity:

(a) Louis XVIII had been restored with the help of foreign armies and his restoration, in the minds of millions of people, was a constant reminder of the defeat and humiliation of France at the hands of foreign Powers.

(b) Then again the Bourbons had been thoroughly discredited before the French Revolution and were associated with tyranny, inefficiency and corruption.

(3) **Struggle between Political Parties.** France at this time was divided into three main political parties—the Ultra-Royalists, the Moderates and the Radicals (Left). There was a bitter struggle for power between them during the next 15 years.

(a) **The Ultra-Royalists.** The "Ultras" were composed of the *émigrés* who had returned to France and who were clamouring for revenge for the wrongs done to them during the French Revolution. Their leader was the Count of Artois, younger brother of the King. They had considerable influence with the King, and it was feared that the King might back them. They wanted to restore the old privileges, and to revive the powers of the Church and stifle all opposition by imposing press censorship.

(b) **The Moderates.** They stood by the Charter granted by the King in 1814 and were loyal to the crown, but as there were several groups among them, they were not very powerful.

(c) **Left or Radicals.** They were either Republicans or Bonapartists and wanted to revive the Republic. At the beginning of the reign they were in a hopeless minority.

CHIEF EVENTS OF THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVIII

I *The White Terror* (1815)

The Ultras tried to persuade the King to annul the Charter and restore the old order, but failed. In desperation, they wreaked their vengeance on the liberals and the revolutionaries who were massacred in large numbers. Rioting went on, on a large scale and the government did nothing to curb it. A number of leaders of the Revolution including Marshal Ney "the bravest of the brave" were killed. The "White Terror", as this massacre was nicknamed, alarmed the King who ordered fresh elections.

II *Parliamentary Elections* (1815) *and Ultras' Victory: "Chambre introuvable"*

Elections to the legislature took place in the midst of the "White Terror" and so quite a large number of liberals, for fear of violence by the "Ultras", did not take part in it and the "Ultras" had no difficulty in gaining a majority.

The government was entrusted to "Chambre introuvable" which was extremely reactionary and was composed of the "Ultras" who were "more royalist than the King himself".

Its Work

(1) It imposed strict press censorship.

(2) It established special courts to try people for treason.

These measures alarmed Louis who dissolved "Chambre

introuvable" and ordered fresh elections.

III *The Moderates in Power* (1816-20)

In the fresh elections, the Moderates gained a majority in the Chamber of Deputies and Richelieu was the Chief Minister from 1816-18 and Decazes from 1818-20.

The Work of the Moderates. (1) Financial reforms were carried out and the system of preparing annual budgets was introduced.

(2) Large loans were raised and the indemnity imposed upon France by the allies was paid off in 1818 and foreign troops were withdrawn by the end of the year. At the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, France was admitted to the "Concert of Europe".

(3) The army was reorganized and measures were introduced to raise the French army to 240,000 soldiers in the next six years.

(4) Press censorship was relaxed.

(5) A new electoral law was passed, lowering the qualifications of members, and the limit of direct taxes was reduced from 1000 francs to 500 francs. This was more favourable to the *bourgeoisie*.

Murder of the Duke of Berry and the fall of the Moderates 1820. The Duke of Berry, son of the Count of Artois, younger brother of the King, was murdered by a French liberal in 1820. This roused great indignation in the country, particularly among the "Ultras". There was a great reaction against the Moderates and in favour of the Ultras who grasped power.

IV *The "Ultras"—Ministry of Villele* (1820-27)

Once again a reactionary ministry under Villele was in power. It undid the work of the previous Moderate ministry:

(1) Civil liberties were curtailed.

(2) Press censorship was reimposed.

(3) The control of education was again handed over to the Catholics.

(4) The tenure of the Chamber of Deputies was extended to seven years.

(5) A new electoral law discriminating against the *bourgeoisie* was passed.

(6) In 1823 French forces which had carried the message of Revolution in the past were now deployed under the auspices of the Holy Alliance to crush the liberal movement in Spain.

DEATH OF LOUIS XVIII AND ACCESSION OF CHARLES X

In 1824, Louis XVIII died and was succeeded by his younger brother, the Count of Artois, who ascended the throne with the title of Charles X.

CHARLES X (1824-30)

As Count of Artois, he was a leader of the *emigres*. He was a thorough reactionary and had learnt nothing from the Revolution. He boastfully said, "It is only Lafayette and I who have not changed since 1789".

He wanted to revive the Ancien Regime and restore the privileges of the nobility and the clergy. This policy ultimately caused hostile reaction and finally led to another Revolution in 1830 and his fall.

EVENTS LEADING TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1830

I *Ministry of Villele*

When he ascended the throne, the Ultras under Villele were still in power in the Legislature and in order to restore the old order, the following steps were taken:

- (1) Further restrictions were imposed on the Press.
- (2) The Jesuits were allowed to return to France.
- (3) The *emigres* were promised compensation to the tune of one billion francs for their losses.

This colossal amount could not be raised in direct taxes, so a new device was planned. It was proposed to reduce the rate of interest on the State debt from 5 per cent to 3 per cent to save large sums of money annually to indemnify the *emigres* without increasing the taxes. This lowering of the rate of interest hit the *bourgeoisie* hard and the capitalists and bankers of Paris were infuriated and demanded the resignation of Villele.

Villele decided to have general elections and lost his majority and resigned.

II *Ministry of Martignac* (1827-29)

The Moderates gained a majority in the new legislature and formed the ministry under Martignac. But the King did not

support him. In spite of the opposition of the King he tried to carry out a liberal policy.

But Charles was determined to have his own way. He said, "I would rather chop wood than reign after the fashion of the King of England" and dismissed the Ministry.

III *Ministry of Polignac* (1829)

Polignac, an *ex-emigre*, formed the ministry but he was very reactionary and was intensely hated by the Moderates. A petition demanding his dismissal was submitted to the King. There were frequent quarrels between the Ministers and the Chamber.

In spite of the stringent press laws, the King and the Ministry were publicly criticized and the tension was mounting in Paris. So the King dissolved the Chamber.

Fresh elections were held in March, 1830, when the Moderates were returned in a majority. The new chamber was more hostile than the old one.

The King was stubborn and obdurate and would not listen to the popular demand. He refused to summon the new Chamber of Deputies and issued *four ordinances* in July 1830:

- (1) Strict press censorship was imposed, and all material for publication had to be submitted for pre-censorship.
- (2) He dissolved the new Chamber of Deputies before it could meet.
- (3) The electoral law was revised and a large number of *bourgeoisie* were disfranchised.
- (4) Fresh elections were ordered.

THE JULY REVOLUTION (1830)

There was a terrible uproar in Paris. The ordinances were denounced as attempts to stifle liberalism and to reimpose absolutism. The insurgents, who were mostly old soldiers, republicans workmen and members of the 'Carbonari', demanded the resignation of the ministry. Barricades were constructed and a civil war broke out. Street fighting went on for three days. The troops refused to fire at the mob and Charles had to give in. He withdrew the ordinances, but it was too late. The insurgents demanded his abdication.

He drew up the document of abdication in favour of his grandson,

the minor Count of Chambord (Duke of Bordeaux), and sent it to the Duke of Orleans, the Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, who announced the abdication without mentioning the fact that Charles had abdicated in favour of his grandson.

What kind of government was to be established now? Some wanted a republican form, others a monarchy. Finally, under the guidance of Lafayette, it was decided to offer the crown to Louis Philippe, the Duke of Orleans.

Importance of the Revolution

(1) It marked the failure of the attempt to revive the "Divine Right of Kings" and to establish absolute monarchy.

(2) The sovereignty of the people was reasserted and the attempts made by the monarch to revive the "old order" or the feudal privileges were frustrated.

(3) The Civil Rights of the people were reaffirmed, and the Reactionary government had to yield to Liberalism. It was a victory of the Revolutionary principles over absolutism.

Chapter 12

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 AND ITS REACTION IN EUROPE

FRANCE WAS the nerve centre of Europe and the political upheavals there had their repercussions elsewhere. So when the July Revolution succeeded in France and the Bourbon monarchy was overthrown, its reactions were felt in the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and Poland.

We shall now discuss them in detail.

THE REVOLUTION OF 1830 AND THE STRUGGLE FOR BELGIAN INDEPENDENCE

The Netherlands, consisting of 17 provinces, were under Spanish domination in the 16th century. But the seven Northern provinces (Holland) revolted against Spain in 1572 and achieved their independence in 1609. The ten Southern provinces (popularly known as Spanish Netherlands or Belgium) continued to be ruled by Spain up to 1713. At the Treaty of Utrecht, they were handed over to Austria and became the Austrian Netherlands.

During the Wars of Revolutionary and Napoleonic France both Holland and Belgium were over-run by the French. But in 1814 Holland again became a hereditary monarchy under William I of Orange.

At the Congress of Vienna (1815) Belgium was annexed to Holland in order to create a strong State on the north-eastern borders of France. The principle of Nationality was thrown to the winds and against their wishes the Belgians were united with the Dutch.

New Constitution. King William granted a new constitution to the United Netherlands and established an Estates-General consisting of 55 members from each part of his Kingdom of Holland

and Belgium. It was to meet alternately at the Hague and in Brussels.

The new constitution was rejected by the Belgian Assembly as the Belgians who outnumbered the Dutch were not satisfied with the provision of parity in the legislature. Their protest was disregarded and the new constitution was imposed on them.

Causes of friction between the Dutch and the Belgians

Soon quarrels arose between the Dutch and the Belgians on account of the following reasons:

(1) They spoke different languages and formed two distinct nations with separate cultures and traditions.

(2) The Dutch were hostile to France, whereas the Belgians were friendly.

(3) The Dutch were Protestants while the Belgians were Catholics.

(4) The Dutch were agriculturists and carried on overseas commerce; the Belgians were essentially industrialists and miners.

(5) The Dutch who had been independent since 1609 looked down upon the Belgians as inferior to themselves.

(6) William I tried to impose the Dutch language, Dutch laws and Dutch officials on the Belgians who were excluded from high official posts. Out of seven ministers, six were Dutch.

(7) The Estates-General always met at the Hague and the Belgians felt slighted.

(8) In order to pay off the Dutch debt a uniform system of taxation was imposed on the Dutch and Belgians and the latter who outnumbered the former had to pay more. They resented this heavy taxation.

(9) Education in Catholic Belgium was to be controlled by Protestant inspectors.

(10) Freedom of the press was restricted.

Thus the relations between the Dutch and the Belgians were very strained and there was great disaffection among the latter. The only advantage that the Belgians derived from the union was that Belgian goods could now be sold in Dutch colonial markets. But the disadvantages were too many.

The Revolt of 1830

The embers of discontent were smouldering ever since the union in 1815, and when the news of the successful Revolution in France reached Brussels, they were fanned into a conflagration.

The people of Brussels, where an industrial exhibition was going on, were deeply stirred by the events in Paris and there was a national uprising. A national guard was raised, barricades were constructed in the streets and the Belgians rose in revolt. The Prince of Orange tried to conciliate the rebels, but failed. The Dutch forces sent to suppress the insurrection were inadequate and were driven out of Belgium which declared its independence.

Attitude of the Great Powers

(1) **Great Britain:** Lord Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, sympathized with the Belgian cause and was in favour of recognizing Belgian independence.

(2) **France:** Under Louis Philippe, France was also favourable to the Belgians.

(3) **Austria:** She was busy with the insurrection in Italy and Metternich had no time to intervene in the affairs of the Netherlands.

(4) **Prussia:** She was intimidated by the French and remained neutral.

(5) **Russia:** The Tsar was busy suppressing the revolt of the Poles.

CONFERENCE IN LONDON (1830)

Great Britain summoned a Conference of the Great Powers in London. Since both Great Britain and France were sympathetic to the Belgians and the Holy Alliance powers were preoccupied with internal troubles, the independence of Belgium was recognized.

The Belgians offered the crown to the Duke of Nemours, son of Louis Philippe, but Great Britain did not approve of the extension of French influence in Belgium and so the offer was withdrawn. At her suggestion it was offered to Leopold of Saxe-Coburg who accepted it.

The struggle continued

Holland refused to recognize Belgian independence and

continued to fight, but the blockade of the Dutch ports by the British Navy and the arrival of a French army in Antwerp forced her into submission and the Dutch troops were withdrawn (1832).

Treaty of London (1839)

By the Treaty of London, Belgian independence and neutrality were recognized and guaranteed by all Great Powers including Great Britain, France, Austria, Prussia, Russia and Holland.

Reaction in Germany

Vienna, Prague and Budapest remained quiet, but there were liberal risings in Saxony, Hanover and Hesse, where the princes were forced to grant liberal constitutions similar to the French Charter of 1814.

But Metternich was quick to act and assured support to the princes who had been coerced to grant liberal constitutions. In Hesse and Hanover the constitutions were soon abrogated; in Saxony by the clever manipulation of the prince, it was made ineffective.

Reaction in Italy

There were popular risings in the Papal States, Parma and Modena. But Austrian forces quickly crushed them and restored order.

Reaction in Poland

The Tsar Nicholas I (1825-55) who had succeeded his brother was the constitutional ruler of Poland in name. The government there was as autocratic as it was in Russia itself.

The news of the July Revolution sent a wave of enthusiasm and hope among the Poles and they began to dream of their independence. Rumours of threatened intervention by the Tsar in the struggle for Belgian independence and in the internal affairs of France roused them to action and they revolted in Warsaw and killed many Russians.

The Russian Viceroy, Grand Duke Constantine, had to flee for his life and the Poles declared their independence.

Russia declared war and the Poles were hopelessly outnumbered and the revolt was suppressed. Terrible atrocities were perpetrated on them and the constitution of 1815 was annulled. Poland was annexed and became a province of Russia.

Secret Treaty of Berlin (1833)

The Holy Alliance Powers were perturbed by these popular risings and at the French and British sympathy with the revolutionary movements.

They, therefore, signed the *Secret Treaty of Berlin* (1833) to uphold conservatism and to suppress all constitutional movements against the rulers.

Chapter 13

THE ERA OF METTERNICH

COUNT Metternich, the Austrian Chancellor, who presided over the deliberations of the Congress of Vienna (1815) was the most dominant diplomat from 1815 to his fall in 1848. His influence was so great, that it was not confined to Austria only, but it penetrated beyond, to the German Confederation and the rest of Europe. So great was his hold on the political stage of Europe that the period of European History from 1815 to 1848 is called the "Era of Metternich".

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE "ERA"

(1) **Reactionary and Conservative.** Metternich was essentially reactionary and conservative and believed in preserving the old order. He was an ardent supporter of absolute monarchy and the privileges of the nobility and the clergy. He did not believe in the principles of Equality, Liberty and Fraternity.

(2) **Opposition to all liberal movements.** He was specially allergic to all liberal and revolutionary movements because they aimed at the destruction of the "old order". Moreover, they tended to bring in their wake violence bloodshed and untold miseries. Hence they should be suppressed wherever they raised their heads.

To combat liberal movements within the Austrian dominions and the German Confederation, he instituted the reactionary "Metternich system" of Government. And to suppress them elsewhere in Europe he readily encouraged the establishment of the Holy Alliance and the Quadruple Alliance whose real object was to see that the Settlement of Vienna was not upset and that the princes were not coerced to grant constitutional governments. He was the chief architect of the "Concert of Europe" for the suppression of all revolutionary movements.

(3) **Bitter Hostility to Nationalism.** Metternich strongly opposed the principle of "Nationality", as it would disrupt the Austrian Empire which was inhabited by a number of nations, like Germans, Magyars, Czechs, etc. Therefore, he was a bitter enemy of the "Nation" States. Then, again, he had been scared by the militant nationalism of the French which had caused so much bloodshed.

Having given the reader a brief concept of the special features of the "Era of Metternich", we shall now discuss at length, how the "Era" affected (a) the Austrian Empire, (b) the German Confederation and (c) the rest of Europe.

A. THE ERA OF METTERNICH AND THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE

Political, Social and Economic Conditions of the Austrian Empire in 1815

(1) **Compactness of the Dominions.** Before the Congress of Vienna, the Austrian Empire was geographically not contiguous, but after it she had gained territorial compactness and so she was politically quite strong in 1815.

(2) **Lacked political and national unity.** But the vast empire was composed of heterogeneous nationalities, like the Germans, Magyars, Czechs, Slavs, Italians, Poles, and others, who spoke different languages and had different political institutions. The only connecting link was the Emperor. It was well nigh impossible to fuse the various nationalities into one nation. On the other hand, the rise of nationalism among them was bound to lead to the disruption of the Empire. Each nation had been, to some degree, affected by the spirit of French nationalism and nursed the hope of establishing a national state some day.

(3) **Absolute Government.** The form of government was absolute monarchy and the government had done nothing to improve the social and economic condition of the masses.

(4) **Social and Economic Conditions.** The people were divided into three classes, the nobles, the *bourgeoisie* and the peasants. The nobility, like its counterpart in France in 1789, formed a "privileged" class. The peasants lived under abominable conditions and had no rights and were miserably poor. The *bourgeoisie* was a very small class and wielded no influence in the social and political life of the Empire yet. The people were

mostly agriculturists and industries were in a very primitive state.

In short, "Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favoured few, oppression and misery for the masses, such was the condition of Austria in 1815".

The Aims of Metternich

The very heterogeneous nature of the state and the economic backwardness of the people provided a rich enough soil for the seeds of the revolutionary principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity to germinate and grow.

And, "In this medley of States, races and languages there lay numberless possible causes of division and contention".

Therefore Metternich's aims were as follows:

(1) To Maintain an Absolute Form of Government.

Under the circumstances only an arbitrary, absolute and reactionary government could keep the various nationalities together. The status quo should be maintained in the form of government as well as in the structure of society.

(2) To Oppose all Liberal and Constitutional Movements. All liberal and revolutionary movements undermined the absolute power of the monarchy and led to the break-up of the Empire. Hence all such movements must be suppressed.

The Metternich System

His Policy. In pursuance of his aims he adopted a reactionary and conservative policy and instituted a system of government popularly known as the "Metternich System" to strengthen his hold over the Austrian Empire.

Its Special Features

(1) Control of Education. Metternich wanted to control the minds and ideas of the younger generation and so he instituted a strict control over University education. All higher education was strictly supervised and controlled. Text-books were censored and professors were screened lest they might impart liberal ideas. Political meetings of students were banned. Spies attended lectures and kept a strict watch on the activities of the professors and students. Any sign of liberalism in education was ruthlessly suppressed. Political science and History were removed from the curriculum.

(2) **Censorship of the Press.** The press was muzzled and could not publish any liberal news or articles.

(3) **Frontiers Guarded.** Frontiers were closely guarded to stop the infiltration of liberal ideas, books or revolutionaries.

(4) **Foreign Travel Banned.** The people in general and students in particular were not allowed to travel abroad so that they might not be infected with revolutionary ideas.

(5) **Arbitrary Imprisonment.** Persons suspected of liberal and revolutionary tendencies were imprisoned without trial.

(6) **Reinforcement of Police.** The Police system was strengthened to keep all liberal movements in check.

(7) **Garrisoning of the Empire by Alien Troops.** The various parts of the Empire were garrisoned by alien nationalities, e.g. to Austria he sent Czech soldiers, to Hungary Slavs and so on; so that there would be no difficulty in suppressing national uprisings.

The Results of the System

(a) **Intellectual Stagnation.** Censorship of the Press and control of Universities resulted in intellectual stagnation for some time. *

(b) **Economic Stagnation.** The preservation of the feudal society with a large number of serfs was not conducive to economic improvement. Agriculture remained in a primitive state and hardly any industries were developed. Foreign artisans were not encouraged to settle in the Empire lest they might bring with them revolutionary ideas.

(c) **Suppression of Liberalism and National Feelings.** The various nationalities of the Empire, the Germans, Magyars, Czechs, etc. were kept under control by his "garrisoning" methods and so there were no serious national or constitutional uprisings up to 1848. **

* He forgot that he could suppress the people for some time but he could not repress their ideas for ever. And so, in spite of spying and censorship, revolutionary ideas continued to infiltrate and in 1848 the absolute regime and the Metternich system were overthrown.

** The Metternich system was quite effective and successful within the Austrian Empire and soon Metternich proceeded to extend it to the Confederation of Germany.

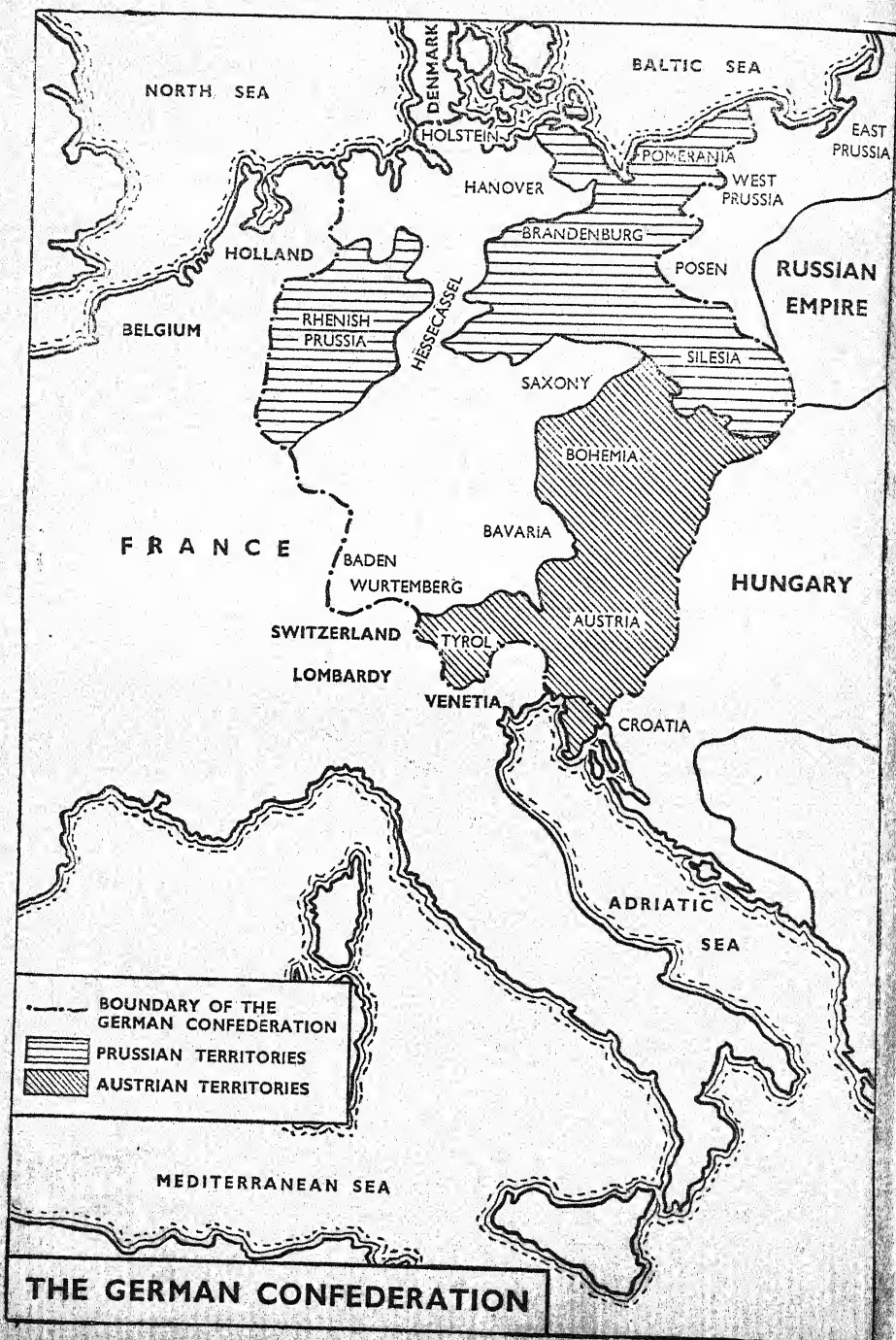


Fig. 6

B. THE "ERA" OF METTERNICH AND THE GERMAN CONFEDERATION

The Congress of Vienna was baffled by the problem of Germany. All the princes who had been deprived of their States by Napoleon could not be restored and the Holy Roman Empire could not be revived as Emperor Francis I was not enthusiastic about it. Then what was to be done with the German States?

The German patriots wanted a unified state, but their hopes were thwarted by the rivalry of Prussia and Austria. Prussia was not yet strong enough to accept the German leadership and King Frederick William III was too loyal to the Hapsburgs to defy Austria.

Metternich did not favour a unified German state, on account of the following reasons:

(1) He did not want to encourage the establishment of "nation" states, because that would encourage other nations too to demand nation states for themselves and the entire Austrian Empire would collapse.

(2) Austria ruled over vast non-German territories and therefore she could not become the leader of a United Germany. If she did, she would lose her hold over her non-German territories. Therefore, in the interest of preserving her non-German Empire, she was hostile to the idea of a single German state.

(3) She would not allow German unity under Prussian leadership, as that would undermine her influence in Germany because the Hapsburgs had been leaders of Germany for centuries.

(4) Metternich had promised the small German princes that they would not be deprived of their sovereignty. He did not want to let them down. Therefore, he favoured a loose confederation of the 39 states which had survived the Napoleonic Wars. Hence the Confederation of Germany under the leadership of Austria was established.

The Constitution of the Confederation

(1) "**Obligations**" of Constituent States. All the 39 states were independent in all respects but they could not wage wars against one another, they could not make treaties with foreign Powers against any other member state and in times of war they had to fight for the Confederation.

(2) The Diet—The Principal Organ of the Central Government.

(a) The Diet met at Frankfurt under the presidency of Austria and was composed of delegates appointed by the different princes. The larger states enjoyed more votes than the smaller states.

(b) Ordinary matters were decided by a simple majority vote. But important matters required a two-thirds majority.

(c) Any change in the constitution could only be effected by a unanimous vote.

(3) Special Features of the Confederation.

(a) It did not create one state, there was to be no German Emperor, no German flag or German citizen.

(b) Each state controlled its own foreign policy.

(c) There was a good deal of outside influence. England, Holland and Denmark by virtue of their possessions of Hanover, Luxemburg and Holstein respectively, interfered in the internal affairs of Germany. So the character of the Confederation was international rather than national.

(d) Austria and Prussia both possessed territories outside the Confederation.

(e) It was also stipulated by Article XIII of the Constitution, that a representative form of government would be adopted in all the federating states. This was never put into practice universally.

Political Unrest in Germany and Intervention by Metternich

The following incidents led to Metternich's intervention:

(1) **German Patriots frustrated.** The German patriots felt frustrated since a unified independent German state was not created and liberal constitutions were not granted by the German princes under Article XIII.

(2) **Disaffection in Universities.** The "liberals" were extremely dissatisfied and Universities were the chief centres of discontent. Students' secret societies like the "Tugendbund" and "Burschenschaft" whose main object was to promote patriotism in all states were organized.

(3) **The Wartburg Festival (Oct. 1817).** The students celebrated the 300th anniversary of Martin Luther's revolt against the Pope. Speeches were made criticizing the reactionary governments. Bonfires were lit and unpopular books were burnt.

(4) **The Murder of Kotzebue (1819).** Kotzebue, a journalist and a Russian spy, was murdered by Karl Sand, a student.

The Wartburg Festival and Kotzebue's murder alarmed Metternich who summoned a meeting of German statesmen at Carlsbad to decide how to arrest student liberalism.

The Carlsbad Decrees (1819): An extension of Metternich system to Germany

The German Diet promulgated the following decrees:

(1) **Supervision of Universities.** At every University spies were appointed to watch students and professors. Professors with liberal ideas were sacked and could not be employed in any other University. No student expelled by a University could be admitted to any other University.

(2) Text books were censored.

(3) All societies were banned, the secret societies were declared illegal.

(4) Strict press censorship was enforced.

(5) The "Mainz" committee was set up to investigate the causes of liberal movements, and to arrest persons suspected of revolutionary tendencies.

(6) No constitution "inconsistent with the monarchical principle" was to be granted.

Results of the Decrees

Liberalism was crushed and reaction became the order of the day. Metternich and his system triumphed over liberalism for some time and hopes of German unity receded still further.

The Revolution of 1830 and its Reaction in Germany

Metternich's hold was so great over Germany that the Revolution of 1830 had minor reactions in a limited number of states. Saxony, Hanover, Hesse and Brunswick only, saw popular risings and the rulers were forced to grant a constitution on the model of the French Charter of 1814. But Metternich soon intervened and suppressed the revolts and restored absolutism in all states. The Metternich system was further strengthened and political meetings were banned, stricter control over Universities was enforced and the Press was further muzzled.

C. THE "ERA OF METTERNICH" AND THE REST OF EUROPE

Metternich developed the doctrine of the "Right of Intervention" in the internal affairs of European states on the assumption that any change of government was not a domestic but an international affair and that if revolution succeeded in one state it was bound to have reaction in other states. Therefore he persuaded the Quadruple Alliance to act as the guardian of the peace of Europe. Great Britain strongly opposed this theory of intervention, but from 1815 to 1822 Metternich succeeded in suppressing revolts in Italy and Spain through the "Concert of Europe". The Congress of Troppau (1820) and the Congress of Laibach (1821) dealt with the Neapolitan revolt and the Congress of Verona (1822) with the insurrection in Spain. (For details see Chapter 10).

So for some time Metternich also succeeded in arresting the liberal movements outside the Austrian Empire and Germany.

Causes of the failure of the "Metternich System"

(1) **Could not crush Revolutionary Ideas.** Metternich could crush the revolutionaries but he could not repress their spirit and ideas and in the long run in spite of his stringent measures, the revolutionary principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity triumphed over his conservatism in 1848.

(2) **Opposition of Great Britain.** Great Britain did not subscribe to Metternich's theory of intervention and at every Congress bitterly opposed it. She sympathized with liberal movements and finally intervened by force in the affairs of Portugal. (For details see Chapter 10.)

(3) **British and French support of National Movements.** The British and French support of the Belgian patriots in the struggle for Belgian independence, the independence of the Spanish colonies in America and the War of Greek Independence further weakened Metternich's hold on Europe.

(4) **The "Monroe Doctrine" (1823).** This was another blow to Metternich's theory of intervention.

Though Metternich continued to hold his sway up to 1848, he could not arrest for ever the spread of liberal ideas and demands for reforms and constitutional governments. With the fall of Louis Philippe in France as a result of the Revolution of 1848, he also fled the country.

Chapter 14

LOUIS PHILIPPE

LOUIS PHILIPPE, the Duke of Orleans, supplanted his Bourbon Cousin Charles X on the throne of France, as a result of the July Revolution in 1830 (See Chapter 11). This Revolution was primarily the work of the working classes against the tyranny of royal absolutism. They had hoped to replace the arbitrary rule of the king by a democratic government and had misunderstood the avowed "liberalism" of Louis Philippe in accepting him as their sovereign. They were soon disillusioned, because though the new regime posed to be "liberal" it was very far from establishing a democratic form of government.

THE CHARACTERISTICS AND ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE "LIBERAL" MONARCHY

The new monarchy was essentially a *bourgeois* monarchy: it depended on the support of the middle classes and not of the whole nation. But in order to win the support of the people, Louis Philippe adopted and introduced some symbols of liberalism.

(1) He styled himself "the king of the French by the will of the nation" instead of "by the Grace of God".

(2) He replaced the Bourbon white flag with the Revolutionary Tricolour.

(3) He relaxed Press censorship.

(4) The royal power to make ordinances was restricted.

(5) The franchise was slightly extended.

(6) The government was outwardly Parliamentary in form, though the majority there was maintained by dubious means.

(7) Considerable industrial and commercial development took place and a network of railways was spread over the country.

as a result of which trade received a tremendous fillip and the merchant class became prosperous.

(8) In foreign affairs too, France sympathized with liberal movements abroad and supported the cause of the Belgian nationalists in their struggle for freedom.

(9) The conquest of Algeria continued throughout the reign and a large number of Frenchmen were encouraged to settle there.

Its Weaknesses

But the liberal monarchy had its weaknesses also:

(1) It primarily depended for support on the middle classes and did not have the backing of the entire nation.

(2) It could not stem the rising tide of socialism and the hostility of the working classes continued to mount.

(3) It could not satisfy the aspirations of the reformists who wanted to establish a truly democratic form of government.

(4) In foreign affairs it was bereft of any glamour attached to the House of Bourbons or the Napoleonic regime. Its foreign policy was weak and vacillating and subservient to that of England, and it sacrificed national honour for the sake of maintaining peace at any cost.

EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

Yet, in spite of the achievements of the liberal empire and the maintenance of peace at home and abroad, the July Monarchy slowly but steadily drifted towards its doom. A weak and muddled foreign policy and a reactionary and unrealistic internal policy finally brought about its collapse in 1848.

I Foreign Affairs

Louis Philippe's foreign policy was inconsistent and inglorious and instead of strengthening his popularity or raising his prestige, made him all the more unpopular.

(1) **The Belgian Independence (1831).** Louis Philippe as a "liberal" monarch supported the cause of the Belgian Nationalists against the oppression of the Dutch and sent a French army to support them. With the active support of the English and the French the Belgians achieved their independence. The successful intervention by Louis Philippe certainly enhanced his prestige.

but his glory was short-lived, for, when the Belgians offered the crown to his son, the Duke of Nemours, he was balked by the British opposition and had to decline the offer. This submission to British hostility was a great set-back to his prestige in international affairs.

(2) **Intervention in the Eastern Question.** France in conjunction with England had sympathized with the Greeks in their struggle for independence, but soon the English and French policies in relation to Turkey and the Turkish Empire were antagonistic to each other's.

Mehmet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, invaded Syria in 1839. The French, in the hope of reviving their influence in Egypt, which had been shattered by Nelson's victory at the Nile in 1798, encouraged him, but Russia, Prussia, Austria and Great Britain formed the Quadruple Alliance and supported Turkey. The Quadruple Alliance intervened on behalf of the Sultan and demanded the Pasha's withdrawal from Syria. Mehmet Ali, backed by France refused to do so and a war between France and the Quadruple Alliance seemed imminent. Theirs, the French Chief Minister, in order to uphold national honour and to help an ally, very strongly advocated armed intervention, but Louis Philippe who thought that discretion was the better part of valour, overruled him and dismissed him (1840). Once again the French foreign policy received a severe set-back and France let down her ally Mehmet Ali who by the Treaty of London (1841), had to renounce his claim on Syria (For details see Chapter 21).

(3) **Anglo-French Entente and the affairs of the Spanish Marriages.** Having had two rebuffs in his foreign policy Louis Philippe was now eager to restore friendly relations with England and an exchange of royal visits in 1843, 1844 and 1845 resulted in an Anglo-French Entente. Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort paid a visit to France in 1843 which was returned by Louis Philippe in 1844. The English royal couple again visited France in 1845. These royal visits were very popular in both countries, particularly in France where once again Louis Philippe's prestige rose high.

But the affair of the Spanish Marriages once again brought about an estrangement between France and England.

Louis Philippe was eager to achieve something glorious and spectacular in the foreign field in view of the mounting social and

political discontent inside the country. He wanted to divert the attention of his people from internal unrest to foreign glory. He was also very keen on making an alliance with the "legitimate" Powers abroad in order to strengthen the claim of the House of Orleans on the French throne. Like Louis XIV he decided to have a "Family Compact" with Spain and identified the state with himself rather than himself with the state.

Queen Isabella of Spain and her sister Luisa were both of marriageable age. The Queen Mother Christina wanted to marry them to French princes, but England was opposed to this proposal as it would violate the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) in as much as it might lead to the Union of the Crowns of France and Spain.

But England would not oppose a marriage alliance between Luisa and the Duc de Montpensier, a son of Louis Philippe, provided Isabella was married first, preferably to a Spanish Bourbon prince and had an heir to the throne.

Louis Philippe agreed to this, but later went back on his word and the two sisters Isabella and Luisa were married on the same day, the former to Francis d'Assisi, a Spanish Bourbon prince, and the latter to Duc de Montpensier.

This was a wanton violation of the Convention which Louis Philippe had made with the English and brought about estrangement with England. Both Queen Victoria and Palmerston, strongly protested against the double-dealing of Louis Philippe and the Anglo-French Entente came to an end.

In France itself there was popular indignation at this break-up of the Entente. The net result of this muddle-headed policy was that France was completely isolated in Europe and Louis Philippe was further discredited in the eyes of the European diplomats.

(4) **Intervention in Switzerland.** Louis Philippe next tried to intervene in the internal affairs of Switzerland in order to rehabilitate his prestige in international affairs. The Swiss Confederation had been established by the Congress of Vienna. But at this time there was a great demand for reforms, as a result of which the country had been torn by a civil strife. The seven Catholic Cantons formed a league called the "Sonderbund" to resist all political reforms. But in 1847 the Federal Assembly voted in favour of the dispersal of the "Sonderbund". The Catholic Cantons appealed to Europe. The "liberal" Louis

Philippe in the hope of breaking his isolation and making an alliance with Austria supported the reactionary cantons and proposed a European Conference to settle the issue.

Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, opposed it and proposed that the Swiss should be allowed to settle their internal affairs themselves without any foreign intervention. At the same time he secretly supported the liberals and reformists and urged them to act quickly and with vigour. So before a European Conference could be summoned or France could intervene in the Swiss affair the liberals gained a decisive victory over the Catholic cantons and there was no cause for foreign intervention. Louis Philippe had once again to eat humble pie.

Criticism of his Foreign Policy

Louis Philippe's foreign policy was an utter failure. In his desire for "peace at any cost" he subordinated the French foreign policy to that of England. And then he also broke the British Entente on account of his bungling in the affair of the Spanish marriages in trying to further his dynastic interests. Compared with the glorious foreign policy of Napoleon, particularly at a time when he was inadvertently encouraging the "Napoleonic legend" at home, his own policy which sacrificed national honour to his own interests was a miserable failure and to a very large extent its failure contributed to his fall in 1848. In short "France was bored stiff" by his weak and irresolute foreign policy.

II Internal Affairs

(1) **Rise of Socialism.** The French Revolution had abolished the privileges of the nobles and the clergy, but it had failed to eliminate poverty. The rich still exploited the poor, the industrial and commercial development brought to the forefront the problem of capital and labour. The working classes organized and established Trade Unions to safeguard their rights, to demand "an equal or reasonable distribution of wealth", and a system of distribution to each according to his capacity. Leaders like Saint Simon, Fourier, Proudhon and Louis Blanc exercised, tremendous influence on the minds of millions of workers. Louis Blanc through his "Organization of Labour" advocated the establishment of national workshops and Proudhon denounced all property holders. According to him "property is theft".

The king and the government indulged in a policy of repression instead of trying to ameliorate the lot of the people. Revolts of the workers at Lyons and Paris were ruthlessly suppressed and their wrongs were not redressed. Thus the discontent among the masses and workers whose feelings and sentiments were ignored by the "liberal" *bourgeois* government, was fanned by the socialistic literature of the period. Revolutionary speeches of Robespierre and Marat were read with great enthusiasm and unrest spread on a large scale among the working classes. Stein, the Prussian politician, prophesied that the next revolution in France would be a "social revolution". The rise of socialism considerably weakened the foundation on which the edifice of the *bourgeois* monarchy had been constructed, and the State found itself utterly unfit to tackle the problem of labour. As years rolled by, the Red menace became graver and graver.

(2) **The Cultivation of the "Napoleonic Legend".** In order to gain popularity the "liberal" monarchy encouraged the cultivation of the Napoleonic legend. Napoleon was hailed as a great national hero, under whom France had dominated Europe. All his faults and failures were forgotten and his glorious achievements were magnified. Poets and philosophers like Victor Hugo and Beranger sang his praises and roused popular admiration for the magnificent exploits of the Emperor. Streets were named after his battles and his ashes were brought back to France in 1840 and interred with great solemnity in the "Hotel de Invalides". The "Arc de Triomphe" was completed in Paris to commemorate his great victories.

Louis Philippe's patronage of the "Napoleonic Legend" was a grave blunder. He unconsciously encouraged opposition to his own regime and provided tremendous support for Louis Napoleon, an ambitious nephew of Napoleon, who dreamt of reviving the Empire and who made two unsuccessful attempts to grasp power in 1836 and 1840. On the second occasion he was imprisoned but he escaped to England where he bided his time to grasp a suitable opportunity while the Napoleonic legend continued to be cultivated in France. Compared with the glories of the Emperor, Louis Philippe's monarchy was dull and drab and people denounced it.

The failure of Louis Philippe's foreign policy greatly discredited him in the eyes of the Bonapartists and patriots who wanted to

revive the glorious achievements of the Emperor.

(3) **Alienation of the Church.** Louis Philippe's liberal government wanted to encourage the spread of education in the country, but in its eagerness to control secondary schools, it alienated the sympathy of the Church. The estrangement with the Church became all the more pronounced when Judaism was given an equal status with Christianity and the Jewish priests were also paid by the State.

The hostility of the Church further weakened the "liberal" monarchy.

(4) **Demand for Reforms.** Louis Philippe had ascended the throne with the backing and support of the middle classes who kept their majority in Parliament by means of corruption and bribery. The franchise was restricted and elections were easily controlled by the moneyed classes. Under the leadership of liberal leaders like La Martine and Odilon Barrot, a campaign for Parliamentary Reforms was launched. They demanded the resignation of Guizot, the Chief Minister of the king from 1840 to 1848, who was a great reactionary and who opposed all reforms. He kept himself in power by means of bribery and corruption. They also demanded the removal of "palace men" in the Parliament and the extension of franchise. The reformists carried on a wide propaganda through the press and platform and held reform "banquets" and proposed toasts "to the amelioration of the lot of the working classes".

The government of Guizot, entrenched in the belief that it had parliamentary majority, bitterly opposed the movement and banned reform "banquets". But the situation slowly and steadily deteriorated. A reform banquet scheduled to meet on 22 February, 1848 was banned, but the angry students and workers were not to be cowed down. Bonfires were lighted in the streets. Barricades were constructed and street fighting followed.

Cries of "down with Guizot" and "Vive la Republique" filled the atmosphere. Guizot resigned, but the rioting did not stop. The mob besieged his residence and when the soldiers fired at the crowd and killed a few of them the situation got out of control and Paris was once again in the throes of a revolution. In vain did Louis Philippe try to stop the revolutionary upsurge by abdicating in favour of his grandson, before he himself fled to England.

A provisional government of socialists and radicals proclaimed France a Republic and ordered elections to an Assembly which was to draft a new constitution.

The July Monarchy which had risen to power on the crest of a revolutionary wave in 1830 fell a victim to another such wave in 1848.

Chapter 15

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 AND ITS REACTION IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE AND ITALY

THE Revolution of February 1848 in France, when the *bourgeois* monarchy of Louis Philippe was overthrown, was an event of very far-reaching consequences. Not only was a change of government effected in France, where the provisional government had proclaimed France a Republic for the second time and Louis Napoleon had been elected as President, but there were wide repercussions in the Austrian Empire, Italy and the German Confederation.

For the convenience of the reader it would be easy to study the course of the Revolution and the reaction in two chapters, one dealing with the Revolution and reaction in the Austrian Empire and Italy, and the other with the Revolution and reaction in Germany. But it must be remembered that the Revolution all over Europe was a single movement and the events in one part had their echo in the others, and thus we cannot isolate the Revolution in one country from the Revolution in others.

CONDITIONS IN THE AUSTRIAN EMPIRE AND ITALY (1848)

The French Revolution of February, 1848 was not a cause of the Revolution in the Austrian Empire and Italy. Already there was great political unrest in these countries and the February Revolution only acted as fuel to the fire.

The Austrian Empire was governed by an Emperor who firmly believed in the Divine Right of Kings and was consequently absolute in name and fact. The society was organized on the feudal pattern where the nobles enjoyed numerous privileges and were exempted from taxes, and the masses groaned under the heavy burden of taxation. The Industrial Revolution had gone

on at a very slow speed and both agriculture and industry were not well developed. The masses by and large were ignorant, illiterate and superstitious and serfdom in its worst form existed in all provinces of the Austrian Empire. Politically, the hold of Metternich, the implacable foe of liberalism, was supreme, and all attempts to establish a liberal constitutional government in the past had been ruthlessly suppressed.

But in spite of the social and political backwardness and helplessness of the masses, signs of political unrest and upheaval were not wanting. People, particularly the middle classes and industrialists whose number was small, were clamouring for liberal, constitutional governments. They had been deeply influenced by the principles of the French Revolution and the national risings against Napoleon. They had also been tremendously affected by the Industrial Revolution, the rise of the factories, the construction of railways, telegraph and the growth of cities. A large proportion of the rural population had migrated to the industrial centres which had developed into big towns and cities. These middle classes and the industrialists with a sprinkling of liberal and advanced nobles, formed the nucleus of the revolutionary movement in the Austrian Empire.

Before the overthrow of the "roi bourgeois" in Paris in February, 1848, there had been serious outbreaks of revolts in several provinces of the Austrian Empire and Italy, all aiming at establishing constitutional governments:

(1) **In Bohemia (1845).** The Czechs had risen in revolt to demand a responsible government and more representation for the townsmen in the Diet.

(2) **In Cracow.** A similar revolt broke out in Cracow in 1846.

(3) **In Rome (1846).** Cardinal Ferretti, a liberal and great sympathizer of Italian unity, was elected Pope in 1846. The new Pontiff, Pius IX, roused the hopes of the Italian patriots and created a "climate of reforms". He declared a political amnesty and established a Council of State to which laymen were also eligible and created a Civic Guard. His example provided a great fillip to the liberal movements in other parts of Italy.

(4) **In Lombardy.** In Lombardy there was a demand for a liberal constitution, and a very strong agitation for boycotting Austrian cigar shops which led to "smoking riots" was launched.

(5) **In Sicily** too the liberals demanded constitutional government.

(6) **In Hungary.** The Hungarian liberals under the leadership of Francis Deak demanded a liberal constitution.

Metternich was still strong and powerful and all these revolts were suppressed more or less successfully. But the embers of unrest and discontent kept on smouldering and the French Revolution of February 1848 acted as a blast and fanned the flames of revolt into a conflagration which enveloped the whole of Europe particularly Italy, the German Confederation and the Austrian Empire. "As the dead weight of Metternich's system was the most oppressive, so it was, that wherever Austria ruled the forces of the Revolution gathered in greatest strength."

THE COURSE OF THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

We shall discuss the course of the revolution in Austria, Hungary, Bohemia and Italy separately, though it must be borne in mind that the revolution overtook these countries simultaneously and events in one sector affected the course of the revolution in the others.

Revolt in Austria (March, 1848)

Emperor Ferdinand I (1835-48) who succeeded his father Francis I was not a strong man and had very little capacity for administration. He was more or less a puppet in the hands of the mighty Metternich. But the reactionary Chancellor too was getting old and his hold on the political machinery was slowly but surely getting less tight, though his "System", the instrument of repression of all liberal movements, continued to function more or less successfully. However the signs of upheaval were not wanting.

Financial Bankruptcy. The State was bankrupt and there was a great rush on banks and the country was faced with a grave financial crisis.

The news of the French Revolution of 1848 heartened the liberals who demanded a constitutional government and the dismissal of Metternich. Students and workmen were deeply stirred by the speech of Louis Kossuth, a Hungarian patriot, (3 March 1848), who demanded constitutional government for

Hungary. They constructed barricades and a clash with the Imperial troops seemed imminent, but the Civic Guard refused to fire. This defection of the army completely alarmed and unnerved Metternich who tendered his resignation and dressed like an "English gentleman" fled the country with his wife and took shelter in England (13 March 1848).

His flight was a great event, it marked the end of an epoch, and of an era of repression, and all Europe was agog at his exit. The forces of Revolution became stronger everywhere and monarchs had to yield before the upsurge of liberalism.

Emperor Ferdinand I granted (April 1848) a liberal constitution for the Austrian Empire, except the provinces of Hungary, Lombardy and Venetia, setting up a bicameral legislature with ministers responsible to it. A national guard was established and press censorship was abolished. But the Liberals were not satisfied with it for two reasons. Firstly, the right to vote was very restricted and they demanded universal manhood suffrage. Secondly, they feared that since it was granted by the King it might be withdrawn by him as soon as he succeeded in suppressing the Revolution. So they revolted again in May, 1848 and demanded a constitution to be drafted by them asserting the sovereignty of the people. A Constituent Assembly was summoned. The Emperor, who was helpless, felt disgusted and retired to Innsbruck "for reasons of health".

The Constituent Assembly met in July, 1848, but the Czech deputies outnumbered the Germans and little progress was made. However, serfdom was abolished in the Austrian Empire.

Meanwhile the news of revolt in Hungary caused terrible excitement in Vienna and the news of the dispatch of Austrian troops to suppress the revolt in Hungary caused a third wave of revolution in October 1848. Latour, the Minister of War, was murdered. The Emperor felt more frustrated and now retired to Olmutz. And the revolution seemed to be progressing satisfactorily.

The Revolt in Hungary

Condition of the Hungarian Society. (1) The Hungarian society consisted of the nobles and peasants and, like the nobility everywhere in Europe, the Hungarian nobles were also exempted from taxation, while the peasants who were mostly serfs were overburdened with heavy taxation.

(2) The people on the whole were very backward and medieval in their outlook. Both agriculture and industry were in a primitive state.

But a Hungarian nobleman named Szechenyi, an ardent social and economic reformer, had done a good deal to improve agriculture and establish some industries. Under his inspiration marshes were drained, roads were constructed, the Danube was made fit for navigation and education and industry were encouraged. He wanted to see Hungary become a modern industrial State.

(3) The Hungarian people were not united. The majority of them were Magyars by race, but there was a great minority of Croats. The Magyars were not prepared to grant the Croats the same rights as they demanded for themselves and though the Magyar language was recognized in 1844 as the official language, they refused to recognize the language of the Croats.

Louis Kossuth and his Influence. Such a socially and economically backward society was stirred to revolutionary heights by the patriotic leadership of Louis Kossuth, a journalist and a great orator. He was a true liberal and was "the very incarnation of the democratic ideas". He advocated the removal of all class distinctions and abolition of the privileges of the nobility. He stood for equal rights for all citizens and demanded a radical reform in the administration of justice and he advocated trial by jury. In short, he desired democratic reforms in every department of national life. He also demanded political equality with Austria.

Kossuth skilfully sowed the seeds of discontent and the news of the French Revolution set the whole of Hungary aflame. Kossuth denounced the Viennese government in a fiery speech in the Diet on 3 March 1848. His speech inflamed the passions of the people in Vienna too and caused the overthrow of Metternich's regime and his flight to England. Kossuth demanded a liberal constitution for Hungary. Emperor Ferdinand was frightened by the outbreak of revolt all over his empire and was coerced into granting a constitution.

The March Laws (1848). The Hungarian Diet at Pressburg passed a number of laws of far-reaching importance:

(1) The Diet which would henceforth meet at Budapest would work like a parliament and would have the power to enact laws and raise taxes.

(2) The ministry would be responsible to the Diet.

(3) Hungary was declared as an autonomous state and the Emperor would be the sole connecting link between Hungary and Austria.

(4) The privileges of the nobles were abolished.

(5) Serfdom was also abolished and the peasants were liberated from the clutches of the nobles and were now free to own or sell land. All feudal services rendered by them were abolished.

(6) Religious freedom was proclaimed.

(7) Trial by jury was guaranteed.

(8) Liberty of the press was assured.

(9) A National Guard was raised.

(10) A new national flag was adopted.

The Emperor was forced to give his consent to these laws on 31 March 1848.

The Hungarian liberals seemed to have achieved their aims.

Revolt in Bohemia

The society in Bohemia was not very different from that in Hungary. The major communities were the Czechs and the Germans.

There was grave political discontent among the Czechs who took advantage of the revolt in Vienna. On 11 March 1848 the "Young Czechs" met at Prague and presented a petition to the Emperor demanding a constitutional government. At first both the Germans and the Czechs joined together and the Emperor accepted the petition and the local Diet was converted into a Parliament on 8 April 1848.

But soon serious differences arose between the Germans and the Czechs. The former wanted Bohemia to be included in the United Germany and hence demanded Bohemian representation in the Frankfurt Parliament which had been summoned in Germany to determine the future form of government of the German Confederation. But the latter opposed this move. They stood for an independent Bohemia, subject only to the personal union with the Emperor. In order to countermand the demands of the Germans they called a Pan-Slavic Congress, consisting of Czechs, Slavs and Poles in Prague in June, 1848.

Thus the progress of the Revolution in Bohemia was not smooth

and the Austrian Government was not slow in taking advantage of the serious rift between the Czechs and the Germans to suppress the revolution.

Revolt in Italy

Italy had been described as "a geographical expression" by Metternich. It had been broken into a number of states—the Kingdom of Two Sicilies (Naples and Sicily), the Papal States, Tuscany, Lucca, Modena, Parma, Lombardy, Venetia, Piedmont and Savoy by the Treaty of Vienna (1815) and the hopes of the Italian patriots who dreamed of Italian unification had been shattered.

The Austrian influence in most parts of Italy was paramount. Lombardy and Venetia were directly ruled by Austria and in the States of Tuscany, Lucca, Modena and Parma, princes of the House of Hapsburg ruled. Therefore any liberal movement in Italy was bound to affect directly or indirectly the other provinces and races in the Austrian Empire. From 1815 to 1848 Metternich had successfully suppressed all revolutionary movements in Italy through the agency of the "Concert of Europe". He could only crush the bodies of the Italian patriots who pined and worked for national independence and unification, but he could not crush their spirits. So as soon as the news of his fall and flight (13 March 1848) reached the Italian peninsula, revolts broke out in the different kingdoms.

(1) King Ferdinand granted a liberal constitution in the Kingdom of Two Sicilies.

(2) Charles Albert granted constitutional government in Piedmont-Sardinia.

(3) In Lombardy and Venetia, which were parts of the Austrian Empire, there were popular revolts and General Radetzky was expelled from Lombardy which was declared annexed to Sardinia.

Venetia was proclaimed an independent Republic by Daniele Manin.

The success of the popular revolt in Lombardy and Venetia seemed to spell utter disaster for Austria where the revolution in Vienna and other parts of the Austrian Empire had completely shattered the Imperial authority. Everything appeared to be lost for Austria, and there seemed to be no chance for the restoration of her suzerainty in Italy. The position in Italy gravely differed

from the situation in other parts of the Austrian Empire because in Italy the Austrian overlordship was completely repudiated, whereas in Hungary and Bohemia, the link had been maintained with the Emperor. The political situation in Italy, therefore, was very grave; but not completely hopeless, because Austria still possessed two mighty assets, namely, the Imperial tradition and the Austrian army. There was tremendous respect and awe for the House of Hapsburg and the Emperor was still held in high esteem throughout Europe. Temporarily he had retired to Innsbruck and later to Olmutz and his authority appeared to be completely eclipsed. The Austrian army was still strong and above all it was loyal to the Emperor and in its loyalty and efficiency lay the Emperor's only chance. It certainly would take time to deploy it to the best advantage, particularly when the administration in Vienna itself had been thrown out of gear.

The War of Italian Liberation

The Italian princes knew the strength of the Austrian army and they feared terrible reprisals when things settled down in Austria. So long as the Austrian Empire was in the throes of revolution, there was an opportunity before the Italian patriots to get rid of Austrian domination for ever. Therefore, Charles Albert supported by the Pope, Pius IX, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Lombardy and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, declared war on Austria in March 1848. The Pope and the other princes joined Charles Albert not on account of any national or patriotic feelings, but because they could not control the popular fervour and were not in a position to crush the rising tide of nationalism which had swept the whole of Italy. Hopes of the Italian patriots rose once again. In the midst of this gathering darkness, Radetzky the Austrian General, did not lose hope. Having entrenched himself in the "Quadrilateral" in the fortresses of Legnano, Peschiera, Verona and Mantua—he waited for dissensions to develop among his foes.

THE REACTION

The first wave of Revolution swept away the Austrian central authority throughout her Empire and things looked very gloomy. But soon the forces of reaction raised their heads and rallied under

the Imperial banner to undo most of the work of the Revolution which had been largely the work of the middle classes and industrial proletariat. The peasants in the villages and the lower classes were not in sympathy with it. They had gained nothing, power had only slipped from the hands of the nobility into the hands of the urban industrialists. They could not expect much gain from this political change. Moreover, a large majority of people were hostile to drastic changes. People and officials were not accustomed to parliamentary government, they preferred to tolerate absolute rulers.

So the cleavage between the middle classes and the proletariat widened and the Imperial authority and the Austrian army took full advantage of it. The reaction started in Bohemia first.

Reaction in Bohemia

We have already noted the dissensions between the Czechs and the Germans in Bohemia over the issue of Bohemian participation in the Frankfurt Parliament. The Austrian Commander Windischgratz exploited these differences and with the help of the Germans proclaimed martial law in Bohemia and the Czechs were ruthlessly suppressed.

Windischgratz's victory over the Czechs was the beginning of several successful operations against the rebels.

Reaction in Italy

The future of the Austrian Empire hinged upon the successful suppression of the rebellion in Italy. If she failed, then she failed, and the Austrian Empire would be dismembered. So she staked practically all her armed strength against the Italians.

Dissensions among the Italian princes and patriots soon arose. The problem of Italian unification was very complicated. There were at least three points of view:

(1) Some Italian philosophers led by Gioberti, a priest, advocated the establishment of a Federation under the leadership of the Pope.

(2) Mazzini, the poet philosopher of the movement for Italian unification, dreamed of establishing an Italian Republic.

(3) Some patriots wanted to achieve unification under Sardinia.

Thus there was no unity of aim among the Italians and soon

Pope Pius IX backed out of his alliance with Charles Albert. He was horrified by the excesses of the Revolutionaries and moreover, he could not sanction a war against the Catholic Austria as German Catholicism would be completely alienated. So by his Allocution of 29 April 1848, he withdrew from the War of Italian Liberation as "a war with Austria was wholly abhorrent from the counsels of a Pope who regarded and loved with equal affection all people, races and nations".

Just as the Pope's accession to the forces of Revolution had roused great enthusiasm, his disaffection now caused grave disappointment. It was clear that Italian unification could never be achieved under the Pope.

Deserted by the Pope, Charles Albert was further let down by the King of Two Sicilies who also withdrew from the war. He was now left alone to fight against Austria. General Radetzky who had been waiting for his chance grasped the opportunity and attacked and defeated Charles Albert at Custoza in July 1848.

The Pope's desertion was bitterly resented by the Italian patriots who under the leadership of Mazzini invaded the Papal States. Rossi, a minister of the Pope, was killed in a rising in Rome and Pope Pius IX himself fled to Gaeta in February 1849. The forces of the "Risorgimento" were completely successful in Rome and a Constituent Assembly was summoned. It deposed the Pope, declared Rome a Republic and entrusted the government to a Triumvirate, consisting of Mazzini and two others. But the victory of the Republicans was short-lived. The entire Catholic world was flabbergasted at the Pope's deposition, and the Austrian and French troops restored the papal authority in June 1849. Garibaldi, the leader of the "Red Shirts", fought the French gallantly. He marched out of Rome with his followers rather than surrender to the French. He became the idol of the Italian patriots and was destined to play a more successful part in the struggle later.

Simultaneously with the popular indignation against the Pope in Rome, there were popular risings in Tuscany and the Kingdom of Two Sicilies and in both states the rulers were deposed and republics were proclaimed.

Charles Albert got frightened at the fate of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the King of Naples and renewed the war with the Austrians, but Radetzky defeated him completely at Novara in

1849 and imposed a humiliating peace on him. Charles Albert abdicated in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel II.

The victory at Novara re-established Austrian supremacy in Italy. Lombardy and Venetia were reconquered, the Pope was restored and so were the rulers of Tuscany and Naples.

The liberal movement in Italy was temporarily crushed and the Italian patriots were convinced that Italian unity could not be achieved under the Pope, nor could there be a Republic of Italy for want of an army to establish it. It could only be achieved under Piedmont, but for that the time was not ripe yet.

Reaction in Austria

The suppression of the revolt in Bohemia by Windischgratz and the victory of Radetzky in Italy greatly heartened the conservatives in Austria. The Austrian armies which were so far occupied in Italy were now free to restore order in Vienna.

Windischgratz and Jellacic, a Croat leader who was appointed Governor of Croatia by the Austrian government, joined forces and besieged Vienna. The Hungarians who went to the relief of the Viennese were defeated at Schwechat (October 1848), and Vienna fell to the Imperial forces.

Prince Schwarzenberg was appointed Chancellor and he persuaded Emperor Ferdinand I to abdicate in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph (1848).

He also annulled all liberal constitutions and launched an offensive against the Hungarian liberals. The authority of the Emperor was fully restored in Vienna.

Reaction in Hungary

Civil dissensions among the Magyars and Croats had greatly weakened the forces of the Revolution. The Magyars were not prepared to recognize the Croatian language nor were they prepared to grant the Croats the same rights as were claimed by them. The obstinacy and short-sightedness of the Magyars roused bitter racial animosity and the Austrian Government was quick in exploiting the Croatian resentment against the Hungarian government.

Jellacic, a Croat leader, was appointed Governor of Croatia against the protests of the Hungarians. He was acclaimed as the leader of Croat unrest. A Croatian Diet decided to separate

Croatia from Hungary. The Austrian support of Jellacic further embittered the relations between Hungary and Austria and the Hungarian government passed into the hands of the Extremists who were determined to sever their connection with Austria.

The Austrian government took the offensive in October 1848, and dissolved the Hungarian Diet. In December the "March Laws" passed by the Hungarian Diet were declared null and void. Austrian armies invaded Hungary and Windischgratz occupied Budapest (January 1849). But the Hungarians retaliated and under Gorgei reconquered Budapest and drove the Austrians out of Hungary (April 1849).

Hungary was declared a Republic under the Presidentship of Louis Kossuth.

This alarmed Tsar Nicholas I and when Francis Joseph appealed to him for help, the Tsar intervened and Russia invaded Hungary and overran it. Kossuth escaped into Turkey and the Revolution soon fizzled out. The Hungarian Diet was dissolved, all local assemblies were abolished and Croatia and Transylvania were separated and Hungary once again became a province of Austria.

The Revolution had been suppressed everywhere and once again absolutism was restored. But it achieved some permanent gains:

- (1) Serfdom was abolished.
- (2) Feudal privileges also disappeared.
- (3) The Government paid attention to the social and economic uplift of the masses.

Reasons for the Failure of the Revolution

(1) **Loyalty of the Austrian Army.** The Austrian army throughout the revolution steadily remained loyal to the Emperor and though it was temporarily overwhelmed by the liberals, it struck back with power and vigour under Windischgratz and Radetzky and restored the Imperial authority.

(2) **No Singleness of Aim among the different Races.** The various races of the Austrian Empire could not unite. Their interests clashed and there were irreconcilable divisions in their ranks.

The Magyars in Hungary would not grant the same privileges to the Croats as were claimed by them and thus earned their hostility.

The Germans and Czechs in Bohemia pulled in different directions. The former did not want complete independence and were in favour of joining the German Federation, while the latter desired autonomy.

In Italy too, there was no unity of purpose. Some supported the Pope, others backed Charles Albert of Piedmont and there were still others like Mazzini who aimed at establishing a republic.

(3) **Incompetent Leadership.** Charles Albert did not take advantage of the Austrian defeats in the initial stages of the War of Italian Liberation and allowed Radetzky to strengthen his position and then retaliate.

Similarly, the Hungarian leaders lacked a sense of reality and offended the Croats by their implacable and uncompromising attitude. On the other hand the Austrian leaders like Windischgratz and Radetzky were able and tactful.

(4) **Conservative Opposition to Liberalism.** Liberalism was not broad-based, it was confined only to the middle class intellectuals and the industrial proletariat. Very few nobles supported it. The bulk of the masses, particularly the peasants, were still loyal to the old tradition and were hostile to violent changes. In the establishment of liberal constitutional governments they saw little hope of their emancipation. The power was only transferred from the nobles to the urban representatives. They, therefore, rallied round the Imperial banner in crushing the revolt.

The nobles were already hostile to revolutionary changes and so they also opposed the Revolution.

(5) **Russian Intervention.** The intervention of Tsar Nicholas I sealed the fate of the Revolution in Hungary and consequently in the whole of the Austrian Empire.

Chapter 16

THE REVOLUTION OF 1848 AND ITS REACTION IN GERMANY

We have already discussed in Chapter 9 how Germany had been constituted into a Confederation of 39 states at the Congress of Vienna in 1815 and how Metternich the Austrian Chancellor had extended his reactionary "System" to it. The hopes and aspirations of the German patriots of establishing a unified German State were dashed to the ground, their sacrifices in the "War of Liberation" against Napoleon were forgotten and the old order was restored.

All liberal movements in Germany in 1830 had been ruthlessly suppressed by the Metternich System and it seemed that the cherished dream of the German patriots to achieve unity would ever remain unfulfilled.

PRUSSIA AND THE PROBLEM OF GERMAN UNITY

In this gathering gloom their only hope centred on the attitude of Prussia. But she was not yet in a position to challenge the leadership of Austria. She was politically and economically not strong, her territories were divided into two halves, eastern and western, and in between lay a number of independent states. Her financial and economic condition too was poor.

If Prussia was to realize the hopes of the German patriots, she must first put her own house in order and strengthen herself, economically and politically.

Economic Reforms

Therefore she carried out a number of tariff reforms:

(1) She abolished all internal customs and established free trade throughout her territories.

- (2) In order to check smuggling the tariff was lowered.
- (3) Products brought by sea were taxed higher because the ports could be properly guarded.

Having established a common tariff system throughout her territories, she invited the other German states to enter into a tariff union with her.

The Zollverein (1818)

At first the small adjoining German states were rather wary of Prussian intentions, but they soon realized the economic advantages of such a union and joined Prussia in a common Customs Union or the Zollverein. All internal custom barriers were abolished and goods moved freely from one part of the union to another. Duties were levied only at the borders and the revenues were divided among the member states in proportion to their population.

Its Advantages. (1) Trade and industry flourished by leaps and bounds and the merchants were thankful for the abolition of the numerous internal barriers which had hampered trade.

(2) The small German states began to learn to work in co-operation with Prussia and it taught them the advantages of Prussian leadership.

(3) It laid the foundation of a real national unity because economic co-operation under the leadership of Prussia, paved the way for political and national unity also.

Parallel Customs Union were formed by Bavaria and Saxony, but in 1842 all the rival groups came together in a common union under the leadership of Prussia. Austria was kept out of it. This was a great step forward in achieving German unity, because the German states which had so far looked to Austria for leadership, now began to work in co-operation with one another under the leadership of Prussia.

Political Reforms under Frederick William IV

Under Frederick William III (1797-1840) no change had been made in the political institutions but with the accession of the liberal and intellectual Frederick William IV (1840-61), great hopes were roused. He granted a political amnesty and relaxed press censorship. Demands for a constitutional government became louder.

In February, 1847 by the "Letters Patent" it was announced that a United Diet of all the Provincial Assemblies would be called and would be invested with the following powers:

- (1) All loans would be raised with its consent.
- (2) All taxes would be raised with its approval.
- (3) It would have the right to petition to the King suggesting new legislation.

Its Defects. The liberals were disappointed with the announcement on account of the following reasons:

- (a) It could meet only when summoned by the king.
- (b) It did not represent the people, but only the classes.
- (c) It had no power to initiate legislation and even in matters of taxation its powers were greatly limited, the question of tariff was reserved for the Zollverein.

In short it was not to function as a parliament.

But in April 1847 the King made it absolutely plain to the liberals that he would not brook any dictation from them. He said, "No person on earth should ever induce him to allow, to come between Almighty God in Heaven and this land, a blotted parchment to rule 'us' with paragraphs and to replace the ancient sacred bond of loyalty". To be more emphatic he announced that "the crown cannot and ought not to depend upon majorities".

But liberalism did not accept these threats lying down and in June, 1847 the Landtag rejected the loans asked for by the King. A first class constitutional crisis was created and the King in anger and desperation dissolved the Landtag. So in 1848, on the eve of the Revolution, "the monarch stood in direct opposition to the liberals".

✓ THE REVOLUTION OF 1848

The French Revolution of February 1848 had its repercussions in Prussia also. Consequent on the fall and flight of Metternich from Vienna there were great rejoicings in Berlin. The liberals who had been cowed down by the fiery speech of Frederick William IV, were heartened at the downfall of Metternich, the arch-enemy of liberalism, and rioting broke out in Berlin. In order to placate the liberals, Frederick William had to relent and on 18 March 1848, he summoned the Landtag to frame a new

constitution and promised to achieve German unity. The prospects of German unity looked very bright because Austria was herself in the throes of a revolution and could not suppress the upsurge of the people. The other German princes too were stunned by the sudden onslaught of the Revolution. The hopes of German unification under Prussian leadership brightened up.

But there was a temporary setback. The crowd of Berliners who went to the palace to congratulate the King on his bold announcement contained some reactionary elements who shouted seditious slogans. The King ordered the crowd to be dispersed and a few shots were fired on them. Rioting broke out in the streets. But better counsels prevailed and Frederick William called off the troops. Donning the revolutionary red, gold and black sash he assumed the leadership of the German people. Austria protested in vain.

Revolution had broken out in other German states too, notably in Bavaria, Hanover, Hesse and Saxony and liberalism had apparently triumphed everywhere.

In March, 1848 the German nationalists met at Heidelberg and decided to convene a German National Diet, elected by universal manhood suffrage, to draft a new Federal constitution for a United Germany. All the princes gave in: they were too stunned to take any action.

THE FRANKFURT PARLIAMENT (MAY 1848)

The newly elected Diet met at Frankfurt in May, 1848. It was entirely dominated by the liberals. The task before the Diet was threefold:

- (1) To achieve German unity.
- (2) To draft a constitution for the United Germany, and
- (3) To adopt the Fundamental Rights of the German nation.

The Frankfurt Parliament adopted the "Fundamental Rights of the German nation" but the other two problems were not simple to solve. From the very beginning the Parliament was faced with two thorny questions, namely:

(a) What territories should be included in the German Union?

(b) Who should be the Head of the new State?

(a) **Problem of Territories.** The chief difficulty was the

position of Austria vis-a-vis the United German State. Should the entire Austrian Empire be included in the United Germany or only its German provinces? If the former course was adopted, a large number of non-Germans would be included in the new State. This was undesirable for two reasons. Firstly, the new State would not be an entirely German State and, secondly, it would mean that millions of non-Germans would participate in the making of laws for the Germans, and Austria would acquire an absolute majority in the Diet. So this idea did not find favour with the majority of the members. If only the German provinces were included it might lead to the dismemberment of the Austrian Empire. Moreover, Austria would not accept this proposal. However, after a good deal of discussion it was decided to include only the German provinces.

(b) **Leadership.** The problem of leadership was more complicated. Austria had been the traditional head of the German Confederation and its predecessor, the Holy Roman Empire. If she was asked to continue as the head, what would happen to her vast non-German Empire since it was already decided to exclude it from the United Germany? Therefore, German Unity under Austria on that score seemed an impossibility. The only alternative was to offer the headship to Prussia, knowing fully well that such a step would be strongly resented and opposed by Austria. Since the Frankfurt Parliament was intent on achieving German unity, it hazarded Austrian opposition and offered the hereditary leadership of a United Federal Germany to Frederick William IV (March 1849). Austria vigorously protested against this decision and made it clear that she would not accept a subordinate position in Germany. Frederick William was alarmed.

Meanwhile a delegation was sent to the Prussian king on behalf of the Parliament. But Frederick William hesitated, and, finally, under pressure from Austria, refused to accept the crown (28 April 1849), in spite of his protestation in 1847 that he was willing to settle the German question "with Austria, without Austria, yes, if need be against Austria".

His reasons for rejecting the offer were threefold:

(1) Born and bred in the conservative tradition he abhorred the idea of accepting the Imperial crown from the hands of the liberal representatives of a revolutionary assembly.

Crown to German Emperor

(2) He had a deep regard for the House of Hapsburg and did not want to offend the Austrian Emperor. His acceptance would surely lead to a war with Austria and he was not prepared to take the risk involved in it.

(3) He feared the opposition of Bavaria, Saxony, Hanover and the other German states which he thought would fight on the side of Austria.

Thus Frederick William missed the opportunity of achieving German unity in 1849.

The rejection of the Imperial Crown by Prussia was a serious setback to the deliberations of the Frankfurt Parliament. Austrian representatives had already been withdrawn, others also withdrew in desperation and "the Assembly gradually melted away".

The failure of the Frankfurt Parliament caused mob violence in several German states (May 1849) and princes were deposed in Palatinate, Saxony, Baden and Prussian Silesia. But these rebellions were quickly suppressed by the Prussian troops and the princes were restored. In Prussia too there was a popular rising, but it was also suppressed and the Prussian Diet was dissolved.

FREDERICK WILLIAM'S SCHEME OF ACHIEVING GERMAN UNITY (1849)

While the Frankfurt Parliament was still deliberating the issue of a constitution for the United Germany, Frederick William, who was by nature anti-liberal, but dreamed of achieving German unity, started working on a scheme of his own "to devise a constitution for Germany more in accord with his own principles of divine right". He wanted to achieve German unity from above rather than accept it from the "gutter", as he called the Frankfurt Parliament.

Therefore he proposed the settlement of the German problem on the basis of a "college of kings". Austria pretended to approve of it, but secretly Schwarzenburg, her Chancellor, opposed it. Frederick William persisted with his scheme and on 17 May 1849, summoned a conference to draft a new constitution. Austria attended the first meeting but then withdrew. But Frederick William was determined to go ahead and after an agreement with Hanover and Saxony on 26 May 1849, over the constitution and electoral law, the "League of the Three Kings" was formed.

He invited the German states, except Austria, to form a Union under the Presidency of Prussia. Membership of the Union was voluntary, but it was expected that just as the German states had realized the advantages of the Zollverein, they would be prepared to join the proposed union. Only 17 small states joined the Prussian League. Among the big states Bavaria and Wurttemberg remained aloof. At this stage the kings of Hanover and Saxony backed out of the "League of the Three Kings" and joined Bavaria and Wurttemberg to form a "League of the Four Kings" against Prussia.

But Frederick William, undaunted, went ahead and a meeting of the Parliament of the Prussian League was summoned to meet at Erfurt in March, 1850.

Austria protested against the Prussian move. She would not allow herself to be ousted from any proposed German union. She demanded the restoration of the old German Confederation and summoned a meeting of the old Diet. The Austrian warning was ignored by Frederick William as Austria was pre-occupied with the revolt in Hungary.

The Hesse-Cassel Crisis (1850)

At this stage a grave political crisis developed in Hesse-Cassel where the Elector withdrew from the Prussian League and annulled the liberal constitution granted by him in 1848. His subjects rose in revolt and appealed to Frederick William to intervene. The Elector himself appealed to the old Diet of the German Confederation which had been already summoned earlier. Bavaria and Wurttemberg also joined Austria against Prussia, and a war between Austria and Prussia seemed imminent. But the attitude of Tsar Nicholas I, clinched the issue. He made it absolutely clear to Frederick William that his sympathy lay with Austria. According to the Tsar, "Austria had placed herself on the ground of the Treaties, while Prussia was on that of the Revolution". In October, 1850, to resolve the deadlock a meeting between Austria and Prussia was held at Warsaw in the presence of the Tsar, where he openly supported Austria.

By now the situation in Hungary had also improved and the Imperial authority had been restored. Therefore, Chancellor Schwarzenberg took a more determined and aggressive attitude, and insisted on the restoration of Austrian leadership of the German

Confederation. Frederick William was alarmed and was not prepared to risk a war with Austria, supported by Russia and so he gave in.

The Convention of Olmutz (November 1850)

Frederick William's humiliation was complete at the Convention of Olmutz. Schwarzenberg dictated his own terms to the Prussian king.

- (1) Frederick William dissolved the Prussian League.
- (2) The old German Confederation was restored.
- (3) The Austrian right to protect Hesse was recognized.

The Convention of Olmutz sealed the fate of the issue of German unity for the time being. It marked the terrible humiliation of Frederick William and restored Austrian authority in Germany. The forces of reaction finally triumphed, in Germany also, as they had done elsewhere, and the hopes and aspirations of the German patriots seemed to be lost for ever. Frederick William by his timidity had let down the cause of German unity.

Chapter 17

NAPOLEON III

THE SECOND REPUBLIC (1848-52)

THE February Revolution (1848) brought about the abdication and flight of Louis Philippe. A Provisional Government composed of Republicans and Socialists who had played an outstanding part in the Revolution, proclaimed France a Republic for the second time. The Government was dominated by La Martine, the Republican leader, and Louis Blanc, the Socialist.

The Provisional Government also ordered elections for a Constituent Assembly based on universal manhood suffrage.

Dissensions in the Provisional Government

THE NATIONAL WORKSHOP

Very soon, dissensions arose between the two rival groups in the government. The Republicans were satisfied with the abolition of the monarchy, but the Socialists wanted to go further and reconstruct society on a socialist pattern.

Under pressure from Louis Blanc, National Workshops were established. But they were not managed properly. The government engaged the workmen in unproductive tasks like excavations for Public Works and no differentiation was made between artisan and artisan; and cobblers, carpenters and smiths worked together, and a uniform rate of two francs a day was paid as wages to them. The work was uncongenial and unsuitable to many of the workers and the entire scheme failed. The Socialists blamed the government and the latter blamed the former for the failure of the scheme.

The rift between the Republicans and the Socialists became wider with the election of the Constituent Assembly in April 1848. It had a predominantly Republican majority; it appointed a

provisional government consisting of five persons with La Martine as its head. The Assembly also refused to create a Ministry of Labour, and the infuriated workmen invaded the chambers in May 1848, but the National Guard repulsed them. In retaliation the government closed the National Workshops and gave the workmen the alternative of either joining the army or going into the country to work on projects of Public Works. The workmen refused to do either and prepared to resist.

The June Riots. In June 1848, Paris was again the scene of mob violence by the "Reds" and fearful fighting took place in the streets. General Cavaignac was given dictatorial powers to deal with the grave situation and he put down the revolt with an iron hand. Thousands of Socialists were massacred and the insurrection was put down ruthlessly. This resulted in an enduring legacy of hatred between the Socialists and the Republicans.

The New Constitution

Having suppressed the revolt in Paris, the Constituent Assembly settled down to draft a constitution for Republican France. Its special features were as follows:

- (1) The legislature was to consist of a single chamber elected on universal manhood suffrage for a period of three years.
- (2) The President too was to be elected by universal suffrage for a period of four years. He was ineligible for immediate re-election.
- (3) The Ministers were to be responsible to the President who appointed and dismissed them.
- (4) The President alone had the right to propose legislation, and to negotiate or ratify treaties with foreign powers.

Criticism of the New Constitution

(1) The election of the President and the Legislature by universal suffrage was fraught with grave political dangers, particularly when the former was invested with such wide legislative and executive powers. In the event of a quarrel between the two, the chances of victory would always rest with the President. The warning of Jules Grevy, a Republican leader, that the President should be elected by the legislature was disregarded.

- (2) Moreover, if the future President belonged to a former

ruling dynasty, there was always a strong possibility of his making it a stepping stone to re-establish a monarchical form of government.

The Election of Louis Napoleon

In December 1848, the President was elected according to the new constitution. There were three candidates: Louis Napoleon, a nephew of the "Emperor", General Cavaignac and La Martine. Louis Napoleon was elected President by an overwhelming majority; over 5,400,000 votes were cast in his favour.

Reasons for his Election

(1) Louis Napoleon made all kinds of promises to the people. Moreover, he was a descendant of the great Napoleon, under whom France had achieved so much glory.

(2) The Democratic Republicans had been discredited on account of the atrocities committed by them to suppress the June riots. Louis Napoleon had scrupulously kept himself aloof from them.

(3) The Socialists were associated with the riots and peace-loving citizens hated them.

In May 1849, elections to the Legislative Assembly were also held, and a very large majority of monarchists was returned. The other parties, namely, the Republicans and the Socialists, stood discredited in the eyes of a very large number of people.

Thus the election of a Bonapartist as President and of a majority of monarchists to the legislature did not augur well for the new constitution.

Presidency of Louis Napoleon (1848-52)

In order to strengthen his hold on the government, he tried to suppress the Republicans on the one hand and appease the workmen, the Roman Catholics, and the Democrats on the other. He took the following steps:

(1) Supported by the monarchist majority in the legislature, he put down a Republican insurrection and arrested 33 Republican representatives and deprived them of their seats. Public meetings were forbidden for some time and Republican journals were suppressed.

(2) The interests of the workmen were safeguarded by a scheme of voluntary old age insurance.

(3) In order to win over the Catholic party he sent an expedition to Rome (1849) to restore the Pope who had been forced to abdicate in the Revolution of 1848. (For details see Chapter 15). He further ensured the support of the Catholic party by restoring the control of the Church over education.

Dispute with the Assembly and the Coup d' Etat of December, 1851

As was apprehended by some, there was a clash between the President and the Assembly before long over the following issues:

(1) **The Electoral Law.** In 1850, the Assembly passed a new electoral law, laying down the condition that a voter must have lived in an electoral district for three years. This disfranchized about three million workmen who moved from one industrial town to another. There were angry protests from them.

(2) **Revision of the Constitution.** Louis Napoleon asked the Assembly to revise the constitution, particularly the clause which prohibited the re-election of the President after four years. The Assembly refused and a real tussle ensued between the President and the Assembly.

The Coup d' Etat. Having been thwarted by it, Louis Napoleon now wanted to discredit the Assembly and exploited the popular opposition to the new electoral law. He posed as the guardian of the constitution and demanded its repeal, fully confident of the support of a large section of the people. The Assembly refused to do so.

On 2 December, 1851, on the anniversary of the battle of Austerlitz, he staged a *coup d' etat*, and arrested a number of Republican and Monarchist leaders. He issued a manifesto announcing that:

(1) The Assembly was dissolved, and that

(2) A plebiscite would be held to decide the issue of the revision of the constitution as proposed by Louis Napoleon.

At the same time troops were called out to guard the Chamber, and minor insurrections against the new manifesto were quickly suppressed. The plebiscite overwhelmingly resulted in Louis Napoleon's favour, and on 21 December, 1851, he was empowered by 7,500,000 votes against 640,000 to draft a new constitution.

*The New Constitution (January, 1852)**

Its chief features were as follows:

- (1) It was republican in form.
- (2) The President was to be elected for ten years.
- (3) Ministers were to be appointed by him and were to be responsible to him.
- (4) The President was to appoint a Council of State to draft legislation to be considered by the legislature.
- (5) A legislature was to be elected on the basis of universal suffrage.
- (6) The Senate, a council of "illustrious persons", was to act as guardian of law and to interpret the constitution.
- (7) All military and civil officers were to be appointed by the President.

The democratically elected legislature, shorn of all initiative in proposing legislation, or raising taxation, or controlling the ministry, was utterly subservient to the President. The Republic, from the very beginning, was almost dead though it lasted for another year, and the transformation of the Second Republic into the Second Empire was not a difficult operation.

On 2 December, 1852, after a plebiscite, Louis Napoleon was elected Emperor by an overwhelming vote of over seven million people and the Republic was at an end.

THE SECOND EMPIRE (1852-70)

Napoleon III was a romantic nationalist and to win popular support he showed that he was in sympathy with the principles of the French Revolution—liberty, equality and fraternity.

Following in the footsteps of his great uncle, he wanted to establish an Empire for the material welfare of his subjects. He believed that it was necessary for him to wield despotic powers to achieve his aim: he wanted to be a benevolent dictator.

The Constitution of January, 1852 was therefore retained with slight modifications and the real power was wielded by the Emperor who was only "responsible to the nation". In practice he enjoyed unlimited powers as he was the supreme commander of the armed forces. He alone had the right to declare war and

*Thus the new constitution established the political dictatorship of Louis Napoleon.

make peace. Laws could be initiated by him only and the Legislature was completely subservient to his will, as members of the Council of State and Senate were appointed by him. "Parliamentary institutions until 1860 were little else than a sounding-board for the wishes of the monarch." To further strengthen the Emperor's hold on the elections, the government controlled them by putting up "official candidates" and paying their election expenses.

The Second Empire can conveniently be divided into two periods:

(A) From 1852-60, a period of unlimited autocracy.

(B) From 1860-70, an attempt was made to establish a "liberal Empire".

A. First Period (1852-60)

During this period Napoleon III's government was "both repressive and progressive—repressive of whatever imperilled his power, and progressive in devotion to whatever might adorn and strengthen it". Therefore, he took both repressive and progressive measures to strengthen and consolidate his power.

I HOME POLICY

(1) **Repressive Measures:** (a) *Press Censorship.* Press censorship was tightened and only newspapers friendly to the government were allowed to be published. Any change of the editor or the manager had to be approved officially, and no new journal could appear without the sanction of the government. To stifle all opposition very high deposits were demanded from newspapers and journals and government reserved to itself the right to suppress any publication.

(b) *The Police System.* The police force was reorganized with the object of making it more thorough and efficient.

(c) *"Official Candidates"*. In order to control elections the government bore the expenses of "official candidates". Thus elections were not free. After 1858, all candidates had to take an oath of fidelity to the Emperor.

(d) *Enemies Exiled.* Quite a few of those who opposed Napoleon III were exiled.

(2) **Progressive Measures.** (a) Universal manhood suffrage was retained.

(b) Several humanitarian measures were taken to ameliorate the condition of the people. Hospitals and asylums were founded, medicine was distributed free and relief societies were established for the poor.

(c) Napoleon III ardently encouraged the Industrial Revolution. Banks were reorganized and loans on easy terms were advanced to framers and industrialists to encourage agriculture and industry.

(d) Communications were improved and more railways, roads, harbours, canals etc. were built and the telegraph system was extended.

(e) Paris was beautified with a number of boulevards and imposing buildings.

(f) Napoleon believed in Free Trade and reduced tariffs, and concluded a commercial treaty with England.

(g) Commerce with trans-Atlantic countries was encouraged and a number of steam-boats were constructed.

(h) He organized a grand exhibition in Paris which greatly impressed foreigners.

Religious and Educational. Napoleon III supported the Catholic Church and instituted a number of charities. The Church regained control over education.

Criticism of his Home Policy. On the one hand by taking strong steps against the Press, he stifled all opposition and, on the other, by his progressive measures he gained the support of several political parties. (a) The Democrats were happy with the universal manhood suffrage. (b) The economic reforms provided opportunities to the liberal *bourgeoisie* and made them rich and prosperous and provided work for the labour. People forgot the loss of their political liberty. (c) The Catholics, the biggest supporters of the Second Empire, were gratified with his attitude towards the Pope who had been restored by him in 1849 and by his educational policy which restored the control of the Church over education. (d) The Monarchists too were won over by establishing a brilliant court and Empress Eugenie, a beautiful and charming Spanish lady, set the fashions for the Paris society.

Thus Napoleon could count on the support of a very large section of French society and he stood at the zenith of his power in 1856.

II HIS FOREIGN POLICY

Napoleon's foreign policy was governed by several factors:

(1) **Nationalism.** Napoleon in his youth was deeply influenced by the rising tide of nationalism which had swept over the whole of Europe. Not only did he sympathize with French national aspirations, but he was also swayed by nationalism in other countries and was always eager to support it.*

(2) **Napoleonic Legend.** The glories of the First Empire and the grand achievements of his great uncle always inspired him immensely. He felt that the work of Napoleon I had remained unfinished on account of the hostility of a large number of foreign powers with whom he had to wage wars incessantly. He should now complete that work and make France the most powerful and prosperous country in Europe.

(3) **Prospects of Territorial Gains Abroad.** His support of nationalism abroad, particularly in Italy and Germany, was to some extent inspired by the desire to gain "compensation" for services rendered by him.

(4) **Desire to Upset the Treaty of Vienna and to help Italy.** His foreign policy had two fixed aims. Firstly, he wanted to upset the Treaty of Vienna because his uncle's fall and the dishonour of France were associated with it. Secondly, he wanted to help the Italian patriots achieve Italian unification as he had been a Carbonaro in his youth.

(5) **English Alliance.** He wanted to avoid the mistake committed by Napoleon I whose downfall was to a very large extent due to the hostility of England and her naval supremacy. Therefore, Napoleon III wanted to be on friendly terms with England.

(6) **Hostility towards Russia.** Tsar Nicholas I, had very grudgingly recognized the title of Napoleon III and so the relations between the two were far from cordial. Moreover, the French had not forgotten the debacle of the Russian campaign of 1812.

THE FOREIGN POLICY IN ACTION, HIS ACHIEVEMENTS ABROAD

I. Rebuilding of the Colonial Empire. (1) Administra-

*Thus we find that Napoleon III was not resolute over his principles. He wanted peace, but he was also prepared to support nationalism abroad in the hope of acquiring "compensation" and he was even prepared to launch an aggressive war for the sake of achieving glory, as he did in the case of Mexico.

tion in the colonies was overhauled and strengthened and the whole of Algeria was occupied.

(2) *The China War*. In conjunction with Great Britain he declared war on China and by the Treaty of Tientsin gained valuable concessions for trade.

(3) The French domination over Indo-China was finally achieved.

II. **The Crimean War (1854-56)**. (For details see Chapter 22). Napoleon III plunged into the Crimean War for the following reasons:

(1) *Personal Hatred of the Tsar*. The Tsar had grudgingly recognized his title.

(2) *French Antagonism towards Russia*. The French had not forgotten the Russian campaign of 1812 and wanted to have their revenge on the Russians.

(3) *Appeasement of the Catholics and Liberals*. Napoleon wanted to pacify the French Catholics who bitterly resented the Tsar's interference in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. The Tsar championed the cause of the Orthodox Christians against the Roman Catholics. Napoleon III, therefore, supported the latter to please the Catholic party.

The liberals detested the Tsar's autocracy. So by going to war against Russia, Napoleon hoped to win over the goodwill and support of both the Catholics and the Liberals at home.

(4) *Napoleon's Distrust of the Tsar*. Napoleon distrusted the intentions of the Tsar with regard to Turkey which he called the "sick man of Europe". The Tsar in the garb of championing the cause of the Christian subjects of the Porte (the Sultan of Turkey), in reality wanted to extend his territories up to the Black Sea and his influence in the Ottoman Empire.

So on account of the reasons mentioned above, Napoleon, supported the Sultan in his struggle with the Tsar and in alliance with Great Britain and Sardinia declared war on Russia.

The allies were victorious in spite of the fact that the war was grossly mismanaged. There were heavy casualties on both sides.

The Treaty of Paris. (1) Russia promised to respect the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

(2) Russia also renounced her claim to protect the rights of the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

(3) No warships, either Russian or Turkish, could be kept in the Black Sea.

- (4) The navigation of the Danube was to be free.
- (5) The Dardanelles were closed to all ships of war.

Importance of the Treaty. (a) It was a personal triumph for Napoleon III in as much as he had humbled the Tsar and had checked Russian designs in the Middle East.

(b) It also brought about a close alliance between France and England and strengthened Napoleon's position on the throne.

(c) A fresh lease of life was given to the Ottoman Empire and its dismemberment was postponed for the time being.

(d) Cavour, the Prime Minister of Piedmont, acquired international recognition and was allowed to raise the question of Italian unity at the Peace Conference.

III. NAPOLEON AND THE PROBLEM OF ITALIAN UNITY

Why he was Sympathetic to Italian Unification.

(1) Napoleon's ancestors belonged to Italy, from where they had migrated to Corsica and then to France. Italian blood flowed through his veins and so he had a special weakness for the Italian people.

(2) In his youth Napoleon had been a member of the Carbonari, a secret society of Italian patriots who aimed at the unification of Italy.

(3) He hoped to win the support of the French Liberals by helping the Italian Liberals. But, at the same time, he was afraid of the hostility of the French Catholics who might be alienated if the Pope lost his power or was deposed in the process of achieving Italian unity. For some time he hesitated in taking a final decision as to whether he should befriend the Liberals or the Catholics. But an unsuccessful attempt on his life by an Italian liberal, named Orsini, in 1858 clinched the issue. While in prison Orsini wrote to the Emperor to say why he had been driven to take the extreme step and he also appealed to him to espouse the cause of Italian unity. The sentimental tone of the letter had a deep effect on Napoleon's mind. So for fear of another such attempt, he decided to support the cause of Italian unity.

(4) He also looked forward to some territorial aggrandizement as "compensation" for his services to the Italian patriots in achieving unification.

"Plombiers Meeting" (1859). Without consulting his

ministers, Napoleon III arranged to meet Cavour at a secret meeting at Plombiers. The two statesmen arrived at an agreement and a Franco-Sardinian alliance was made on the following terms:

(1) France would go to the rescue of Sardinia in a war with Austria, if Austria could be made to appear as an aggressor, and if the war came within three months, Austria would be driven out of Italy by their joint action.

(2) An Italian Confederation consisting of the following four states would be established under the Presidency of the Pope.

(a) A single kingdom of Northern Italy under Victor Emmanuel comprising Sardinia-Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Parma, Modena and parts of the Papal States would be established.

(b) Tuscany and parts of Papal States would form a Central Kingdom.

(c) Rome would remain under the direct rule of the Pope.

(d) The kingdom of Naples and Sicily would stay as it was.

(3) France would receive Savoy and Nice as "compensation" for her services in the struggle against Austria.

(4) A marriage alliance between Prince Victor Jerome Napoleon, a cousin of the Emperor and Princess Clothilde, daughter of Victor Emmanuel II, was settled. As a result of this alliance Napoleon hoped that one day he might be able to extend his influence in Italy.

Having assured himself of French support, Cavour now started military preparations on a grand scale and raised a powerful army. In order to excite Austrian hostility, he mobilized the forces along the Lombardy-Piedmont frontiers. The Austrians, as was expected, felt irritated at this and demanded an immediate withdrawal of Piedmontese troops. Cavour ignored the warning. The Austrians sent an ultimatum demanding an immediate demobilization. Cavour, who had skilfully manoeuvred the situation, rejected it and refused to be threatened by Austria and succeeded in provoking her to declare a war of "aggression" on Piedmont (1859). (For details see Chapter 18.)

Cavour had done his part of the "Plombiers agreement" and Napoleon had to go to his aid. The allied troops defeated the Austrians and overran the whole of Lombardy. The unexpected Italian successes against Austria roused the hopes of Italian patriots who began to demand the incorporation of the Papal States with

Piedmont. Napoleon grew alarmed because he felt that French intervention in Italy was decreasing Papal power instead of strengthening it and the French Catholics were bitterly critical of his Italian policy. They had been his firmest supporters so far and their denunciation completely unnerved him. Moreover, the Prussian mobilization along the Rhine also upset him and he feared that Prussia might join Austria.

The Villafranca Armistice (1859). Faced with a war on two fronts he decided to end the Austro-Piedmont war and secretly met the Emperor, Francis Joseph, at Villafranca. The two emperors agreed on an armistice on the following terms:

- (1) Lombardy would be ceded to Piedmont.
- (2) Venetia would remain with Austria.
- (3) The Princes in Central Italy who had been deposed as a result of national movements would be restored.
- (4) The Pope would be the President of an Italian Federation.

Having concluded the armistice Napoleon withdrew from the war.

The French withdrawal horrified the Italians who denounced the armistice as the "basest treachery to the Italian cause".

Deserted by France, Victor Emmanuel was not prepared to continue the war, as he was not sure of his success against Austria, so he had no alternative but to accept the armistice. Cavour who wanted to continue the war was over-ruled and he resigned in disgust. But Victor Emmanuel prevailed upon him to withdraw his resignation.

By the *Treaty of Zurich*, the armistice between France and Austria was ratified.

As Napoleon III had not fulfilled completely his part of the "Plombiers agreement", he did not claim Savoy and Nice.

Plebiscite in Central Italy. The people of the Central duchies refused to accept their former rulers and claimed the right of self-determination. Great Britain supported their cause and Napoleon agreed to have a plebiscite in Central Italy. Tuscany, Romagna, Parma and Modena voted in favour of amalgamation with Piedmont. Napoleon accepted the verdict of the people, but claimed Savoy and Nice which were ceded to him by the Treaty of Turin (1860).

Reaction of Napoleon's Intervention in Italy. Napoleon's intervention in the Italian struggle caused very far-reaching reactions in France both in the foreign as well as in the internal spheres.

(1) *Foreign Affairs—Growing Isolation of France* (a) Relations between France and Russia were already strained before the Crimean War and, after it, estrangement became wider still. Now Napoleon's intervention in Italy on behalf of Piedmont earned him the antagonism of Austria also and though he tried to tone it down by the armistice of Villafranca, the Austrians could never trust him.

(b) Piedmont and the Italian patriots also felt terribly annoyed with him, because he had let them down at a crucial hour in their struggle for independence and unification.

(c) Further, his annexation of Savoy and Nice roused a good deal of distrust in Great Britain.

Thus France was almost completely isolated in Europe and all her allies were suspicious of Napoleon's intentions.

In order to rehabilitate himself in the esteem of the European powers he showed undue enthusiasm for nationalism abroad, particularly in the Balkans, Poland and Germany.

(2) *Internal Affairs—Catholics versus Liberals* His Italian policy completely undermined his prestige in France. The Catholics who were so far the principal party supporting him were alienated on account of their fears for the future safety of the Pope. They blamed him for going too far to help the Italian patriots. The Liberals on the other hand blamed him for not doing enough.

They were annoyed because he had withdrawn from the war just when the Italian unification, with which they sympathized, was almost in sight. The diametrically opposite views of the Catholics and the Liberals over Napoleon's Italian policy widened the gulf between the two chief parties in France. Since the Catholics were irrevocably annoyed with him, Napoleon tried to appease the Liberals more and more and his entire future foreign and internal policy was guided by this aim.

B. *The Second Period—"The Liberal Empire" (1860-70)*

Having decided to gain the support of the Liberal party in France, Napoleon carried out a number of liberal reforms at home and sympathized with the liberal movements abroad, hence the last ten years of his reign (1860-70) have been termed as the "Liberal Empire".

I LIBERALISM AT HOME

(1) **Constitutional Reforms.** The Senate and Legislative

bodies were now given greater powers and they were empowered to hold a debate on the annual address of the Emperor to the legislature. They could also discuss and criticize the policies of his ministers. Thus a very significant step was taken towards establishing a responsible government.

(2) **Freedom of Speech.** Restrictions on the freedom of speech were removed. Napoleon expected that this measure would make him popular but the result was that all the political parties vigorously criticized his policy.

(3) **Publication of Parliamentary Debates.** Full publication of Parliamentary debates was authorized to enable the country to know what transpired in the legislature.

(4) **Amnesty to Republicans.** The Republicans who had been driven out of the country in 1851 were permitted to return.

Reaction of his "Liberal" Policy. The Emperor was mistaken in expecting that these liberal measures would win him the sympathy and support of the various political parties in France. Instead, they were encouraged to criticize the government all the more bitterly. The Catholics attacked his Italian policy which had almost endangered the position of the Pope and almost brought about the extinction of the Papal States. They were extremely hostile to him for going too far out to help the Italian patriots.

The Liberals also criticized his Italian policy and accused him of letting down the cause of Italian unity and to them as to the Italian patriots the Villafranca armistice was nothing short of the "basest treachery".

The Industrialists were alienated by the free trade policy and bitterly attacked his commercial treaty with Great Britain (1860). They thought it was more favourable to the English manufacturers than to themselves.

The "Orleanists", the supporters of the descendants of Louis Philippe, regarded him as a usurper and accused him of confiscating the throne.

Thus the freedom of speech instead of strengthening support for him created further opposition in the country.

II LIBERALISM ABROAD—HIS FOREIGN POLICY

In order to divert the attention of his critics at home he tried to follow a glorious and liberal foreign policy. He espoused the

cause of nationalism abroad in the hope of winning over the support of the Liberal party at home. His attitude towards nationalism in European states was sympathetic and he favoured the formation of national states, provided the balance of power in Europe was not upset and provided his own country was not adversely affected. In pursuance of this policy he sympathized with nationalism in Rumania, Poland and Germany.

(1) **Support of Rumanian Patriots (1861-62).** Moldavia and Wallachia, which were parts of the Ottoman Empire, had been granted a certain amount of autonomy after the Crimean War, but they were not allowed to unite together. The Rumanian patriots wanted a union of the two principalities and so in 1861 both of them elected Prince Alexander Cuza as their head. Napoleon succeeded in persuading the Great Powers to accept the Union.

(2) **The Polish Revolt (1863).** The Poles rose in revolt against Russia and asked Napoleon to help them. They had been old allies of France. Both the Liberals and the Catholics urged him to support them, the former because the Poles were fighting for self-determination, the latter because they were Catholics by religion. Napoleon too was eager to help them but his intervention would surely have led to a war with Russia and possibly with Prussia and Austria also as they too had Polish subjects. So Napoleon hesitated and finally gave up the idea. He wrote a letter to the Tsar pleading the cause of the Poles, but it only helped to irritate the latter without bringing any relief to the Poles. He was bitterly criticized for his weak and pusillanimous foreign policy.

(3) **The Mexican War (1862-67).** Napoleon was greatly perturbed by the growing criticism of his home and foreign policies, therefore, he wanted to achieve something spectacular in the foreign field to divert the attention of his critics. The troubled waters of Mexican politics offered a good opportunity to him to carve out a colonial empire, and he decided to intervene in the affairs of Mexico.

Causes of Intervention. (a) *Religious—Hope of Winning the support of the Catholic Party.* There was much unrest in Mexico on account of religious troubles. President Benito Juarez's government had confiscated ecclesiastical property and had been persecuting the Catholics. Napoleon thought that by espousing

the cause of the Mexican Catholics, he would not only win the support of the Catholic party at home, but also the blessings of the Pope, whom he had offended by his Italian Policy.

(b) *Political.* (i) Napoleon wanted to glorify the Empire and hoped that, if successful, he might establish a colonial empire in the New World.

(ii) France and other European powers like England and Spain had grievances against the Mexican Government for their unjust treatment of their citizens resident there.

(c) *Financial and Economic.* (i) Napoleon hoped to build the Panama Canal with the help of French engineers and money and thus gain valuable commercial advantages for France.

(ii) The Mexican Government repudiated the debts which it owed to France, Spain and Great Britain and in 1861 the government by an arbitrary decree suspended all payments of interest on bonds to foreign creditors.

Great Britain, France and Spain, thereupon, decided to take joint action.

The moment was opportune, as the United States of America was busy with the Civil War between the North and the South and was not in a position to enforce the Monroe Doctrine and stop European interference in the affairs of the American countries.

Treaty of London (1861). With the object of securing adequate protection for European residents in Mexico and to force the Mexican government to honour their financial obligations, Great Britain, France and Spain signed the Treaty of London and decided to intervene in the affairs of Mexico. A joint allied expedition was to go and seize the custom houses. The allies, at the same time, made it clear to the Mexican government that they had no intentions whatever of territorial conquest or of overthrowing the government.

President Juarez yielded to the joint threat and promised to open negotiations to settle the outstanding financial dispute. Napoleon insisted that they could be held only with a monarchical and not with a Republican government. Thus it became clear to Great Britain and Spain that France had other motives in mind than the settlement of the financial issue. Probably Napoleon wanted to overthrow the Republican government and replace it by a monarchy under a friendly European prince. Great Britain and Spain did not support Napoleon's attitude and when the

Mexican Government made satisfactory financial adjustments, they withdrew from the alliance.

Course of the Struggle. But Napoleon was adamant. Though deserted by his allies, he decided to send an expedition, single-handed, and in May 1862, a French force landed in Mexico and after some fighting captured Mexico City. The dissident Mexican minority helped the French and President Juarez was driven to the north. Mexico was proclaimed a monarchy and the crown was offered to Maximilian, brother of Emperor Francis Joseph. Napoleon accepted the proposal in the hope of appeasing the Austrians whom he had offended in the Italian War of 1859.

In 1864 Maximilian was installed on the throne under the aegis of the French. But he was extremely unpopular with the Mexican nationalists and guerilla warfare continued. In retaliation Maximilian issued a decree saying that any enemy captured with arms would be summarily shot. This made him all the more unpopular.

By now the Civil War in the United States had come to an end and she protested to the French in the name of the "Monroe Doctrine" and threatened to intervene. Napoleon was not prepared to risk a war with the United States and recalled his forces (1867) leaving Maximilian to the mercy of the Mexicans. The unhappy prince capitulated at Queretaro in May and was shot dead. Once again Juarez became President.

Results of the Mexican War. (a) Napoleon's prestige was irretrievably damaged. He was bitterly criticized by both the Catholics and the Liberals for leaving Maximilian to his doom.

(b) His preoccupation in Mexico did not give him an opportunity to intervene actively in the Prusso-Danish or the Austro-Prussian wars, with the result that he unconsciously helped Prussia to strengthen herself at the cost of Denmark and Austria. Napoleon missed a golden opportunity of acting as arbitrator in the Austro-Prussian dispute and of dictating his own terms to Bismarck (for details see Chapter 19.)

(c) The war was a heavy drain on the financial resources of France.

In short, "the Mexican War was as disastrous for Napoleon III as the Spanish War had been for Napoleon I".

(4) **Napoleon and German Unity.** Napoleon was sympathetic to German nationalism because he hoped that by supporting Prussia

he would gain more territory as "compensation", just as he had got Savoy and Nice by helping the Italian patriots.

(a) *Prussia's War with Denmark* (1864). At the time of the Prussian War against Denmark over the question of Schleswig and Holstein in 1864, Napoleon was too busy with the Mexican adventure to play an effective role in the Prusso-Danish dispute. But secretly he advised Prussia to take both the duchies.

(b) *Austro-Prussian War* (1866). Bismarck, the Prussian Chancellor, wanted to make sure of French neutrality in the event of a war between Prussia and Austria. So he met Napoleon at Biarritz in 1865. Neither of them was frank with the other. Bismarck played on Napoleon's vanity and his avowed sympathy with German nationalism and secured his neutrality on the vague promise of allowing him to annex the Rhenish provinces or even Belgium. There was no third person present at the meeting and Bismarck, a past-master in diplomacy, made sure that, "nothing was made precise, nothing was committed to paper".

Napoleon was not afraid of Prussian expansion and even urged Italy to conclude a treaty with Prussia against Austria. He was under the impression that a war between Austria and Prussia would be a long drawn out affair and would exhaust both of them. And then at a suitable opportunity he would intervene in the struggle and dictate his own conditions to both and extract favourable terms for France. But he miscalculated the extent of the Prussian military preparations and before he could intervene the "Seven Weeks War" was over and Austria had been completely humbled at Sadowa. Napoleon missed the greatest opportunity of his life. Had he intervened in the war he would have become the arbiter and master of the situation and might have got compensation from Bismarck. But he was completely outwitted by the astute Prussian Chancellor who had made all sorts of vague promises to him. Sadowa was regarded by the French as a humiliating defeat and there were cries for the "Revenge of Sadowa".

Reaction of his Foreign Policy in France. Napoleon's diplomatic defeat at the hands of Bismarck further discredited him in the eyes of the Republicans. He was conscious of the growing unrest at home at the failure of his foreign policy. In order to curb it he had two alternatives, either to revert to despotism

rule or to grant more concessions. He decided in favour of the latter to appease his critics, and took the following steps:

(1) *A New Constitution.* A new constitution was drawn and was accepted by the people after a plebiscite in 1870. Its salient features were that the Legislative Assembly got real power and could initiate legislation and the ministers were responsible to it.

(2) Press censorship was further relaxed.

(3) Elections would be free and fair and expenses of "official candidates" were not to be paid by the government.

(c) *The Franco-Prussian War (1870-71).* The plebiscite in favour of the new constitution strengthened Napoleon's position in France and he could now take a sterner and firmer attitude towards Prussia. All major political parties in the country were united in their hatred of Prussia. The Liberals detested the reactionary Prussian government, the Catholics were antagonistic to Prussian Protestantism and the Patriots feared that a strong, powerful and united German State emerging on the French border would upset the balance of power.

Moreover, the French national pride and honour had been wounded by Bismarck who had paid no "compensation" for French neutrality in the Austro-Prussian War.

Feelings ran high and there were demands for revenge. But Napoleon was not in favour of a war with Prussia. He knew that France stood isolated in Europe. The Tsar was pro-Prussian and the Italians were dissatisfied with him and Great Britain too was suspicious of his intentions.

Bismarck who was spoiling for a war with France very cleverly manipulated the political situation and the relations between France and Prussia deteriorated over the question of the "Spanish Succession". National feelings were roused to a high pitch and Napoleon, who was ill at this time, had to bow before the wishes of the nation and against his better judgement declared war on Prussia in 1870. He said, "Even if we had no motive for war which we could avow we should nevertheless be obliged to resolve on it to obey the will of the people".

The French armies were no match for the Prussians and Napoleon was defeated at Sedan on the 1 September, 1870 and was taken prisoner on the 2 of September. With his fall, the Empire also fell and on the 4 September, France was declared a Republic under the leadership of Leon Gambetta. A government of National

Defence was set up but it could not save France and after a siege of four months, Paris surrendered on 28 January 1871, by the Armistice of Versailles.

Fresh elections were held for an Assembly to decide the question of peace and on 12 February, 1871, the Bordeaux Assembly by 433 votes to 98 ratified the Treaty of Frankfurt. (For details see Chapter 19.)

An Estimate of Napoleon

In internal affairs Napoleon brought prosperity to his people and the Industrial Revolution in France gathered great momentum. His aims to reconstruct France were amply realized.

But his foreign policy was a miserable failure and was the real cause of his downfall. His vacillation and double-crossing in the Italian campaign, his misadventures in Mexico and his diplomatic defeats at the hands of Bismarck thoroughly discredited him both at home and abroad. He allowed himself to be overruled by popular enthusiasm for war with Prussia knowing fully well that the French army was ill-organized, ill-equipped and hopelessly outnumbered by the Prussians. To some extent his irresolution was due to his failing health and to the over-bearing influence of his wife. Moreover, he was no match for the subtle diplomacy of Bismarck and was a poor military commander.

"The tragedy of Napoleon III is that he lived on after his reconstructive aims were achieved. The apex of his life had been reached by 1860. His foreign policy after a striking beginning also turned to failure."

After peace had been restored between Prussia and France he was set free and then he settled down in England where he died in 1873.

Chapter 18

THE UNIFICATION OF ITALY

NATIONALISM AND liberalism in Italy received a death blow at the hands of the architects of the Congress of Vienna (1815) and the hopes and aspirations of the Italian patriots who desired to achieve unity and independence from the foreign yoke, were dashed to the ground. Under the pretext of the principle of legitimacy, which governed the territorial readjustments after the fall of Napoleon I (1815), the principle of nationality was brushed aside and the old rulers were restored to their respective thrones as far as possible.

In pursuance of this principle, Italy was divided into the following states: the Kingdom of Two Sicilies; Papal States; Tuscany; Lucca; Parma; Modena; Lombardy and Venetia; Piedmont and Savoy. The last two were parts of the Kingdom of Sardinia. Thus, instead of unifying Italy, as was ardently hoped for by the Italian patriots, it was reduced to a mere "geographical expression".

The system of government in all these states was reactionary and the influence of Austria was supreme. Lombardy and Venetia were parts of the Austrian Empire, and in Tuscany, Lucca, Parma and Modena, Hapsburg princes ruled. Metternich's writ ran all over the peninsula and through the "Concert of Europe" he succeeded in suppressing all liberal movements in Italy in 1820 and 1831. The Kingdom of Sardinia under the House of Savoy was the only kingdom independent of Austrian influence. Even the Pope looked up to Austria for help and support. (For details see Chapter 10.)

INSTITUTIONS WHICH KEPT THE SPIRIT OF NATIONALISM ALIVE

Yet in spite of this repression, the urge for Italian unity could

not be crushed and the torch of nationalism was kept burning by the following institutions and men.

(1) *The Carbonari*

The Carbonari or the society of charcoal burners had its origin in Naples and was a purely revolutionary body whose aim was to overthrow the government by insurrection and conspiracy. It was "a vast liberal organization much better adapted for spasmodic movements of destruction than for the construction of new institutions". It attracted a large number of young and old patriots and at one time Louis Napoleon (Emperor Napoleon III) was also its member.

(2) *Italian Philosophers and Poets*

Italian poets and philosophers played a notable part in creating a mental revolution among the people. Before Italian unity could be achieved, all states had to be converted to the same line of thinking and the same political ideals. This task was very ably performed by men like Mazzini, Gioberti and De Sanctis, who wielded a tremendous influence on the minds of the intelligentsia of the country. They were responsible for a new movement, called the "Risorgimento" or literary and national revival, which glorified the achievements of the Old Roman Empire and inspired the present-day generation to achieve independence and unity and emulate the work of their great ancestors.

(a) **Influence of Mazzini (1805-72).** Among these philosophers the influence of Joseph Mazzini was supreme. Born in Genoa in 1805, he was "the spiritual force of the Italian resurrection" and "the fanatic apostle of a new religion". He wielded a mighty pen and through his articles swayed the minds of millions of men and inspired his compatriots with a great missionary zeal. When young, like all Italian patriots, he also joined the Carbonari, not because he approved of its methods, but because it was the only revolutionary organization whose aim was to achieve Italian unity. When the wave of revolution swept the Italian peninsula in 1830, Mazzini also took a leading part in it, but was arrested and later exiled.

The "Young Italy" Society

The fire of patriotism kept burning within him and in 1831,

he founded a new party called the "Young Italy" with the following objects:

- (i) To create an awakening among the people to free the country from the foreign yoke and to achieve unification.
- (ii) To instil in men a self-sacrificing sense of duty.
- (iii) To educate the masses and to tell them their ancient glory and the causes of their present misfortune.
- (iv) To establish a Republic.

The membership of the new society was limited to men under 40 years of age. They were expected to carry the torch of liberty from village to village and land to land.

Through the "Young Italy" party, Mazzini enrolled a membership of over 50,000 patriots and roused a feeling of unbounded patriotism, faith and hope.

But he had his own weaknesses. He lacked the qualities of practical leadership and underrated the strength of the enemy, who was militarily well armed and very powerful. The "Young Italy" had created only a moral force, not an army to fight the Austrians.

(b) **Influence of Gioberti (1801-52).** Vincent Gioberti, a priest, wrote *The Moral and Civil Primacy of the Italians*. He firmly believed in independence but not in unity. He did not support the republican and democratic ideas of Mazzini, for, according to him, the Italian genius was essentially monarchical and aristocratic. Being a clergyman he advocated the establishment of a federation under the Presidency of the Pope and denounced all secret societies. Pope Pius IX and the Church were deeply inspired by his writings.

(c) **"Liberal Royalists".** Poets and philosophers like Daniele Manin and La Farina organized the "Italian National Society", and advocated the unification of Italy under the King of Piedmont.

The ideals in respect of Italian independence and unification which these philosophers and poets placed before the people, instead of achieving a singleness of purpose, were confusing. Three distinct and widely divergent views were expressed by them.

(i) Mazzini and his supporters advocated the establishment of a Republic.

(ii) Gioberti and the Church supported a confederation under the Presidency of the Pope.



Fig. 7

(iii) The monarchists believed in unification under Piedmont.

STAGES IN UNIFICATION

The Movement upto (1848-49)

In Chapter 15 we have already seen how the French Revolution of 1848 affected the course of events in Italy and how the hopes of the patriots were dashed. The Pope's Allocution of April, 1848 and his desertion of King Charles Albert of Piedmont, coupled with the Piedmontese defeats at the hands of Austria, sealed the fate of Italian independence for the time being. When the revolt had been suppressed in 1849, three lessons had been learnt:

- (1) That Italian unification could not be brought about under the aegis of the Pope.
- (2) That it would not be feasible to establish a Republic because the Republicans had no army to support their cause.
- (3) That unity could only be achieved under the House of Savoy, that is, the ruler of Sardinia and Piedmont.

The Rise of Piedmont, Victor Emmanuel II and Cavour

Two persons played a significant role in making Piedmont the premier state in Italy so that it could take the lead in achieving independence and unification of the peninsula. One was King Victor Emmanuel II who succeeded his father Charles Albert in 1849 and the other was Count Camillo di Cavour.

(a) **The Role of Victor Emmanuel II (1820-78).** Born at Turin in 1820 he was given a rigid military and religious training. He fought against Austria in 1848 and succeeded his father, Charles Albert, who abdicated in 1849 after his defeat at Novara. The Austrians were prepared to offer Victor Emmanuel liberal terms of peace provided he abrogated the Piedmontese constitution granted by his father. He refused to surrender to the Austrian demand and at once became the popular champion of Italian freedom and idol of his people and earned the title of the "honest king". He was "bluff, hearty and good natured", and was a born soldier and a great diplomat. For the sake of his country he sacrificed his personal interests when in 1858 by the Plombiers agreement he consented to marry his young daughter Clothilde to the dissolute prince, Victor Jerome Napoleon, a cousin of the Emperor, and also to cede Savoy and Nice to France. He was

a shrewd politician and in 1859 overruled Cavour who insisted on continuing the war against Austria, and concluded peace after Napoleon had let down the Italians, by making the Villafranca Armistice with the Austrian Emperor, Francis Joseph.

He again showed his farsightedness when in 1860, under circumstances described later in the chapter, he himself marched at the head of his forces into the Papal States and the Kingdom of Naples where Garibaldi had created an ugly situation. By his tact and statesmanship he won over Garibaldi. In short, he played an outstanding role in the unification of Italy.

(b) **Count Camillo Benso Cavour (1810-61).** Cavour was born at Turin in August, 1810. He was carved out for a military career by his parents. Though born in a noble family, from the very beginning he had a liberal outlook and was hostile to absolutism and clericalism. He resigned his commission in 1831 and devoted himself to the study of Political Science. He was deeply influenced by the French Revolution of 1830 which proved that "an historic monarchy was not incompatible with liberal principles". He opposed the republicanism of Mazzini and ardently supported the cause of Italian unity under the House of Savoy (the rulers of Piedmont).

In 1847, he turned to journalism and founded the *Il Risorgimento*. By writing powerful articles he considerably influenced the king and the people. He was deeply influenced by the English Parliamentary institutions and was a staunch supporter of political, economic and industrial reforms. He was a true statesman and played the most dominant role in the unification of Italy. He had few rivals in diplomacy in Europe and even Metternich remarked, "There is only one diplomatist in Europe, but unfortunately he is against us; it is M. di Cavour". Guizot, a French politician, also testified to his diplomatic skill on the eve of the Italian War in 1859, in the following words, "There are two men upon whom the eyes of Europe are fixed, the Emperor Napoleon and M. di Cavour. The game is being played. I back M. di Cavour."

In 1849, he became a member of the Piedmontese Parliament and made a memorable speech, saying, "Piedmont, gathering to itself all the living forces of Italy, would be soon in a position to lead our mother-country to the high destinies to which she is called."

In 1850, he was appointed Agriculture, Industry and Commerce Minister in the cabinet of d'Azeglio. On 4 November, 1852, he became the Prime Minister.

He firmly believed that Italian unity could only be achieved under the leadership of Piedmont and she should therefore become a strong and powerful state to play her rightful role in the cause of Italian freedom and unification. Therefore, he pursued the following line of action.

I Cavour's Internal Policy

(1) **Economic Reforms.** He encouraged the Industrial Revolution and a number of industries were established. Roads and Railways were constructed and by his enlightened commercial policy of lowering the tariffs and making commercial treaties with foreign countries he brought great prosperity to the people. Taxes were also equitably distributed and the revenue of the State went up.

(2) **Army Reforms.** A new army of 90,000 soldiers with a better discipline was organized. A fleet was also equipped.

(3) **Religious.** He established the supremacy of the State over the Church and cut down the privileges of the clergy, several monasteries were suppressed and the Jesuits were expelled.

(4) **National Society.** He organized a National Society with the object of enlisting the support of the other Italian states for Piedmont. Its motto was: "Independence and unity; out with the Austrians and the Pope". A large number of Italian liberals were drawn to this society and even Republicans like Manin were prepared to follow Piedmont.

II Cavour's Foreign Policy

Cavour was convinced that without foreign help it would not be possible for Italy to drive the Austrians out. Therefore, he wanted to secure a powerful ally to achieve his aim. He would have preferred an alliance with Great Britain, but though she was sympathetic to the Italian cause she would not break international treaties. So Cavour turned to France and found Napoleon III more willing to help.

(1) **Cavour's Role in the Crimean War (1854-56).** Cavour saw his opportunity of making a foreign alliance in the Crimean War and he persuaded the king to join England and France against Russia "as a means of bringing the Italian question before

the Great Powers". A token force of 15,000 Piedmontese troops was sent to Crimea. In the beginning the soldiers suffered immensely from disease and Cavour was bitterly criticized by his political opponents. But the Piedmontese victory at Tchernaya in 1855 silenced them and raised his prestige.

The Peace of Paris (1856), which was concluded at the end of the Crimean War was a landmark in the history of Italian independence and unification. Its deliberations had far-reaching effects:

(a) Piedmont was recognized as a Great Power and Cavour was invited to attend the Peace Conference. It was a great moral victory for Cavour.

(b) He raised the question of Italian independence and indicted Austria as "the arch-enemy of Italian Independence".

(c) Piedmont was recognized as the leader of the movement for Italian independence, and

(d) Cavour succeeded in winning over the interest of Napoleon III, who made the ominous remark: "I have a presentiment that the actual peace will not be long".

(2) **Alliance with France—the Plombiers Agreement (July, 1858)**. Napoleon was sympathetic to Italian aspirations, because he had been a Carbonaro in his youth and he supported the principle of nationality and believed that each nation had a right to be politically united. He also desired to undo the work of the Congress of Vienna (1815) which was associated with the humiliation of the Napoleonic dynasty. But he still wavered about actively intervening in the Austro-Italian dispute. The unsuccessful attempt by Orsini, an Italian patriot, in January, 1858, to assassinate him, made him believe that he should do something for Italy lest there might be more attempts on his life.

He invited Cavour to a secret meeting at Plombiers in July and arrived at the following agreement:

(a) French armies would support Piedmont in driving away the Austrians from Lombardy and Venetia provided Cavour could show the Austrians to be the aggressors.

(b) If the allies were victorious, Italy would be constituted into a Confederation consisting of the following states under the Presidency of the Pope: (i) A Northern Kingdom under Victor Emmanuel II consisting of Sardinia, Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Parma, Modena and parts of the Papal States; (ii) A

Central Kingdom including Tuscany and part of the Papal States; (iii) Rome directly under the Pope; and (iv) The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

(c) France would receive Savoy and Nice as "compensation".

(d) Clothilde, daughter of Victor Emmanuel, would be married to Prince Victor Jerome Napoleon, a cousin of the Emperor.

(3) **Austro-Sardinian War (1859).** Having assured himself of French support, Cavour now set about to provoke Austria into a war of aggression. By means of propaganda against Austria, passions were roused and there were loud demands for a war against Austria. Victor Emmanuel, in his speech on 7 January, 1859, said that he "was not insensible to the cry of woe that reached him from so many parts of Italy". The king's speech roused great enthusiasm and gained him the support of all patriots except Mazzini who would not "countenance the sinister aid of the author of *coup d'etat*". Mazzini was referring to Napoleon III who had become Emperor as the result of a coup. "But the work of Mazzini was done. Italy no longer needed prophets, but warriors and statesmen."

To further antagonize Austria, Piedmontese troops were mobilized along the border of Lombardy. Austria retaliated by amassing her troops too along the border. People on both sides of the border suffered from war hysteria and an armed conflict between the two countries seemed imminent. Cavour's machinations had been successful so far. But, at this moment, the Great Powers intervened. Urged by Russia, Napoleon proposed a European Congress to settle the Austro-Sardinian dispute. England too supported the idea. Cavour was disappointed because the fruits of his labours were about to slip out of his hands. He was very averse to taking this dispute to an international Congress, but in view of the combined demands of all the Great Powers he had no alternative, but to yield. Luckily the Austrian Government dominated by the party in favour of war acted foolishly and hastily and demanded that Piedmont should not be represented at such a Congress and that she should disarm forthwith.

Cavour opposed the proposals and England also suggested that Piedmont should be represented at the Congress. But she advised him to disarm. Cavour agreed to do so but before his intentions were made public, the Austrian government sent an ultimatum to Piedmont to disarm immediately. Here was Cavour's opport-

unity. He refused to do so and Austria declared war. Cavour had successfully exploited the political situation and Austria was proved to be an aggressor. He exultantly cried, "The die is cast, we have made history".

Cavour had done his part of the contract, now Napoleon had to do his. So when the Austrian troops invaded Piedmont (April, 1859) Napoleon came to the rescue of Piedmont and in person commanded the French armies. The Austrian General Giulay was incompetent and the Austrians were defeated by the allied troops at Montebello, Palestro and Magenta. Milan was occupied and Lombardy was over-run. The Austrians were further defeated at Solferino and they retired into Venetia.

Italian successes caused widespread popular political upheavals in the Central Italian Duchies where the patriots revolted against their rulers and drove them out of Italy.

The Villafranca Armistice. At this stage without consulting Piedmont, Napoleon secretly met Emperor Francis Joseph at Villafranca and concluded an armistice with him on the following terms:

(a) An Italian Confederation should be created under the Presidency of the Pope.

(b) Austria should cede Lombardy to France and France would give it to Piedmont.

(c) Venetia would remain with Austria.

(d) The rulers in Central Duchies should be restored. //

Why he Made the Armistice. Napoleon was influenced by the following considerations in concluding the armistice:

(i) He was alarmed at the exuberance of Italian nationalism. He was unconsciously creating a United Italy on his borders and the French were hostile to the idea of establishing a powerful neighbour who might prove dangerous later.

(ii) The war instead of strengthening the position of the Pope was likely to endanger it and the French Catholics were very critical of his Italian policy.

(iii) He was frightened by Prussian mobilization on the Rhine. Prussia might intervene on behalf of Austria.

(iv) He was genuinely horrified at the bloodshed caused at the battle of Solferino. //

The Austrians were also eager to stop the war for the following reasons:

- (a) The Austrian army was in a bad state.
- (b) Trouble was brewing in Hungary.
- (c) If Austria accepted Prussian help she might lose her leadership in Germany.
- (d) Emperor Francis Joseph was also touched by the horrors of the war.

The Armistice and the Italians. It was bitterly criticized by the Italians who regarded it as the "basest treachery". Cavour was indignant and even disrespectful to the king and advocated the continuance of the war. But Victor Emmanuel overruled him. He was not prepared to take the risk of fighting Austria single-handed. Cavour resigned in protest, but was later prevailed upon to return to office.

The armistice was followed by the Treaty of Zurich and since Napoleon had not carried out all the terms of the Plombiers agreement, he did not demand Savoy and Nice. (See Chapter 17.)

(4) **Plebiscites in Central Italy (1860).** During the Austro-Sardinian War the rulers of Modena, Parma and Tuscany had been overthrown and so was the Pope's authority in Romagna. According to the terms of the Treaty of Zurich, the old rulers were to be restored, but the people of the Central Duchies were not prepared to have them back. Assemblies called by the Revolutionary leaders voted in favour of their union with Piedmont. Though she declined their offer for fear of Napoleon's opposition, she secretly encouraged them to hold out for annexation. Piedmontese leaders even organized their armies on the Piedmontese model.

Cavour who had returned to office in January, 1860, fully realized that the annexation of the Central Duchies could only be done with the consent of Napoleon III and so he struck a bargain with him. He offered him Savoy and Nice if he agreed to allow plebiscites in them. England supported the right of the people for self-determination and Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, emphatically said, "The people in the Duchies have as much right to change their sovereigns as the English people or the French".

As a result of the plebiscite there was almost a unanimous vote in favour of union with Piedmont; and Modena, Parma, Tuscany and Romagna were annexed to Piedmont. Cavour kept his part of the contract and after a formal plebiscite Savoy and Nice were

ceded to France by the Treaty of Turin (1860). Garibaldi, a citizen of Nice, was indignant at the cession of Nice and attacked Cavour in Parliament and said, "You have made me a foreigner in the land of my birth".

By the annexation of Savoy and Nice, Napoleon lost "the gratitude of the Italians". It also discredited him in the eyes of the English people and relations between England and France became strained. England grew suspicious of the intentions of Napoleon.

(5) **The Conquest of the Kingdom of Two Sicilies (1860).** Cavour's task was yet half finished. Venetia, Rome and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies were still to be annexed before the unification of Italy could be completed. The annexation of the Central Duchies "was, in fact, but a stepping stone towards the ultimate union of all Italy under a single crown".

He could afford to ignore Venetia for the time being as it was not feasible to wage another war with Austria, though the Italian patriots there were seething with discontent. How were Rome and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies to be annexed? So far Cavour had played the diplomatic game very successfully and most of his political moves had paid good dividends. He had found a foreign ally in the person of Napoleon; he had also succeeded in annexing the Central Duchies without a war. But he felt cheated by the armistice of Villafranca and in frustration remarked, "They have stopped me from making Italy by diplomacy from the north I will make it with the revolution from the south."

So in taking his next step of annexing Rome and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies he resorted to both revolution and diplomacy.

He took full advantage of the grave political discontent against the reactionary Pope and Francis II, the Bourbon king of the Two Sicilies. Rome was well armed, there was a French garrison in Rome to protect the Papal States since 1849, and there were Irish, French and Belgian adventurers in the Papal army. A war with the Pope, therefore, might involve the invader in a war with France. And Cavour was very particular about avoiding such a catastrophe. He did not want to lose whatever had been gained so far and a war with Austria for Venetia and with France over the Papal States, might endanger the cause of Italian unity and was to be avoided at all costs.

But at the same time the unification of Italy had to be completed. Therefore Cavour exploited the serious political unrest in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and secretly encouraged the patriots there to revolt against Francis II.

Garibaldi's Part in the Conquest of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. In the conquest of Sicily and Naples, Joseph Garibaldi (1807-82), a disciple of Mazzini, played an outstanding part. Born in Nice, he joined the navy, but being a revolutionary republican he joined the "Young Italy" party. He was condemned to death for mutiny on a war ship, but escaped to South America and there joined the Italian Legion. On his return to Italy in 1848, he organized the famous "Red Shirt" army of about 3,000 volunteers, and joined Sardinia in her struggle against Austria, and later he joined Mazzini in his invasion of Rome in 1849. But after its failure he fled to the United States of America. He returned to the island of Caprera in 1854 to play his part in the unification of Italy.

When the patriots in Sicily revolted against the reactionary Francis II, Garibaldi saw his opportunity and with a band of his thousand soldiers he sailed from Genoa to Marsala. Piedmont officially was at peace with Francis II, so Cavour could not openly extend help to Garibaldi and though outwardly he denounced him, secretly he encouraged the Red Shirt invasion. Garibaldi landed in Marsala in 1860 and within three months the conquest of Sicily was completed and Garibaldi was proclaimed the Dictator. He now crossed over to the mainland and over-ran the whole of Naples except a few fortresses. Francis II entrenched himself in the citadel of Gaeta. Garibaldi's position was now very strong and there was a danger that he might establish a Republic in the south and might refuse to join Piedmont. At the same time there was a further apprehension that he might invade the Papal States after completing his conquest of Naples. So Cavour's task at this stage was twofold:

- (a) He must ensure that all conquests were made in the name of King Victor Emmanuel II and that no separate independent republic was established in the south, and
- (b) That Garibaldi's adventure in the south might not involve Italy in an international war.

Attitude of the Great Powers. Fortunately the Great Powers were either too busy with their domestic affairs or were

sympathetic to the cause of Italian unity. Austria was too entangled with troubles in Hungary and Germany to actively intervene; Great Britain was sympathetic and Napoleon had also remarked that in Italy the "national idea must triumph".

But an attack by Garibaldi on Rome, where the French troops were stationed, might embroil him in a war with France and Cavour wanted to avoid this ugly situation. Garibaldi must be made to join Piedmont and he must not be allowed to invade the Papal States. Therefore, Cavour forestalled Garibaldi and as the Pope was getting ready to intervene on behalf of Francis II in Naples and as there was great political unrest in the Papal State itself, Cavour asked the Pope to disarm his foreign levies. When he declined to do so, he persuaded the king, Victor Emmanuel, to invade the Papal States (1860). The Papal army was defeated at Castelfidardo and the Papal States, except the Patrimony of St. Peter, were annexed to Piedmont. The Pope strongly protested, but was helpless. Napoleon III was frightfully busy with his mad Mexican venture to intervene on behalf of the Pope.

At this stage the Italian Parliament voted that the southern states should be annexed to Piedmont. Plebiscites held in Naples and Sicily showed an overwhelming majority for union. These plebiscites strengthened Cavour's hands and weakened those of Garibaldi.

Meanwhile, the struggle between Garibaldi's forces and the Neapolitan army continued to rage and it became evident to Garibaldi that without the armed help of Piedmont, he might not be able to subdue it. The patriotic feeling in him over-ruled his personal interests and he sacrificed his republican principles for the sake of the unity of the country and met King Victor Emmanuel II at Teano and accepted him as king. Their combined armies defeated the Neapolitan forces at Macerone and Capua and Francis who had held out at Gaeta was overwhelmed and was forced to flee into exile. The conquest of Sicily and Naples was now complete.

On 17 March, 1861, King Victor Emmanuel II was proclaimed King of Italy. Only Venetia and Rome now remained out.

Death of Cavour (1861)—His Achievements. Cavour passed away on 6 June, 1861. He had almost accomplished the task of unifying Italy. It was unfortunate that he did not live to see the

day when Venetia and Rome were also annexed. Cavour was the chief architect of the unification of his country. He harnessed the awakening caused by Mazzini and moulded the stirring enthusiasm of the people into a live force by his diplomatic skill and converted a mere "geographical expression" into a powerful unified State. "His was the master brain which mobilized the inspiration of Mazzini into a diplomatic force, which beat the sword of Garibaldi into a national weapon and turned what might have been the political quixotries of ill-guided enthusiasts into instruments of State."

In short, "Italy as a nation is the legacy, the life work of Cavour."

(6) Annexation of Venetia (1866)—Austro-Prussian War.

The next step in the unification of Italy was taken in 1866. Relations between Prussia and Austria had become very strained on account of the future status of the Duchies of Holstein and Schleswig and over the question of reforms in the German Confederation. Bismarck, the Prussian Chancellor, was determined to oust Austria from the German Confederation and to unify Germany under the leadership of Prussia. To achieve his end, he had raised a well-equipped and well-disciplined Prussian army which was ready to strike at Austria and France, the two enemies of German unity. Austria too had mobilized her forces and a war between the two seemed almost certain. Bismarck wanted to ensure his victory over Austria and therefore he made a treaty of alliance with Italy in April, 1866. According to it, if there was a war between Prussia and Austria over the issue of reforms in Germany, within the next three months, Italy would go to the rescue of Prussia and, if victorious, she was to be rewarded with the annexation of Venetia. Bismarck manipulated the war in June, 1866 and won a crushing and decisive victory over Austria at Sadowa on 2 July. Though the Italians had been defeated at Custozza, Italy was rewarded at the end of the war because she had kept a considerable Austrian army occupied in the south and had indirectly contributed to the Prussian victory. Prussia kept her promise to Italy and by the *Treaty of Prague* (1866) Venetia was annexed to Piedmont.

(7) Annexation of Rome (1870)—Franco-Prussian War.

The last and final stage in the unification of Italy was provided by the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71. (For details see Chapter 19.) Bismarck had successfully manoeuvred a war

against France and after the French defeat at Gravelotte, the French garrison from Rome was withdrawn. Thereupon King Victor Emmanuel triumphantly entered Rome which now became the Capital of Italy and Pope Pius IX withdrew into the Vatican. The unification of Italy had been achieved, and Cavour's dream had ultimately come true.

Chapter 19

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

WE HAVE discussed in Chapter 16, how the attempts of the Liberals to establish a unified German State had been dashed to the ground. The humiliation of Prussia at Olmutz had temporarily sealed the fate of German unification and Austria had succeeded in restoring the old German Confederation under her own leadership, and everywhere old reactionary governments were in power.

Lessons of the Revolution of 1848-49

But the abortive revolutionary movement of 1848-49 had brought home the following lessons to the German patriots:

(a) **Opposition of Austria.** Austria was the arch-enemy of German unification and so long as she was powerful, German unity would never be achieved because she was not interested in it, as it would mean either the exclusion of her non-German provinces from the unified German State, or the dismemberment of the Austrian empire. (For details refer to Chapter 16.)

(b) **Opposition of lesser German Princes.** The lesser German princes would not consent to lose their power and merge into a bigger unit. They would oppose all attempts at unification. They were rather suspicious of the intentions of Prussia and preferred to follow the lead of Austria knowing fully well that under Austrian leadership their rights were safe, as Austria was interested in maintaining the Vienna Settlement (1815) and Prussia wanted to upset it in order to achieve German unity under her leadership. Their attitude to Prussia on the question of German unity was, therefore, one of hostility.

(c) **Failure of Liberalism and Constitutionalism.** It was also evident that German unity could not be achieved by the Liberal Constitutionalists because they were not practical men. They believed in making speeches and passing resolutions and

they had no army to back their demands. Moreover, the princes and the majority of the masses were deeply conservative and hence they were not likely to support the Liberals.

(d) **Failure of Prussia under Frederick William IV.** Frederick William IV missed a golden opportunity of achieving German unification in 1849 because he was not prepared to accept the crown from "the gutter" and he abhorred revolution and bloodshed, and because he had a deep regard and respect for the Hapsburgs of Austria. Therefore, so long as he ruled there was no hope of Prussia taking the initiative. He was obstinate, reactionary and whimsical and preferred the hollow alliance with Austria and other German States to taking the lead in the struggle for German unification.

(e) **Need for a Well-disciplined and Overpowering Army.** It was also clear that Austria could be ousted from the Confederation only by an overwhelming force. And no other Power in Germany except Prussia was capable of raising such an army. German unity was possible only under Prussian leadership.

THE PERIOD OF REACTION IN PRUSSIA (1849-58)

Frederick William IV on whom had centred the hopes of the German patriots let them down hopelessly in 1849. Not only was he not prepared to take any further lead in the matter of German unification he also established a reactionary regime in Prussia. "The period from 1849-58 was the most shameful in the history of Prussia." It was marked by the most reactionary measures. Freedom of speech, of expression and of meeting was considerably curtailed, the liberty of the Press was rescinded and feudal rights were restored. In short, the constitution granted in 1850 was fully flouted by the king who made himself absolute in name and in fact.

Yet even this reactionary period had its redeeming features. A good deal of economic and industrial progress was made and Prussia was gradually becoming an industrialized country and trade with foreign countries was encouraged. These industrial and economic changes brought about great prosperity among the people and gave rise to a new capitalist class. Economic evolution also widened the peoples' horizon and manufacturers wanted the widest possible markets for their goods. This could be done only

by the government and therefore they were eager to strengthen its hands.

Side by side with this, there was a great intellectual awakening which roused a wave of patriotism and nationalism.

The struggle for Italian unification too had a tremendous influence on the people and there was a very strong and wide urge among them to achieve German unification.

STAGES IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF GERMAN UNIFICATION

A. *From 1815 to 1849*

The most important achievement of this period was the establishment of the Zollverein (1842) or Customs Union under the aegis of Prussia. The exclusion of Austria from it and the acceptance by the other German princes of the leadership of Prussia were very significant and important developments and laid the foundations of German unity. The Customs Union worked so satisfactorily that some of the lesser German states began to trust Prussia and look up to her for political leadership as well.

But on account of the failure of the revolutionary movement of 1848-49 and the weakness of Frederick William IV no further step could be taken before 1858.

B. *William I—as Regent (1858-61) and King (1861-88)*

In 1858 on account of the insanity of Frederick William IV, William, his brother, was called upon to shoulder the responsibility of the State as Regent. In 1861, Frederick William died and William I became king of Prussia.

William was made of a different mettle. He was brave, soldierly and was intensely practical. He had no sympathy with the Liberals and left to himself he would have abrogated even the constitution of 1850. But on the advice of Bismarck he held back. He had a sturdy common sense and an uncanny knack of selecting the right man for the right job.

His Aim and Policy. Thus never before was a Prussian king more suited than William to achieve the task of German unification. He was firmly convinced that it could not be achieved by Liberal politicians who had miserably failed in 1849. He had no love for the arm-chair politician and if German unification was to be

achieved then "the appeal of Prussia should be to the God of battle alone". With this end in view he set about to create an efficient engine of war, a well-disciplined and efficiently led army which should be able to overwhelm all opposition in the way of German unification.

Hence he took the following measures:

(1) He dismissed the feudal ministry of Manteuffel who was associated with the Prussian humiliation at Olmutz and appointed Albrecht Von Roon (1803-79) as his War Minister. Von Roon was an extremely clever organizer and built up a powerful Prussian army.

(2) He appointed General Helmuth Von Moltke (1800-91), an efficient soldier, as Chief of the Army Staff.

(3) The army was completely reorganized on the following basis: (a) Compulsory military service for three years instead of two was introduced. (b) Thirty-nine new infantry and ten cavalry regiments were raised.

Tussle between the King and Parliament over the Army Reforms. The army reforms involved heavy expenditure, but the Lower House (Landtag) dominated by the Liberals would not grant any money as long as the king would not grant a responsible government. Parliament wanted to guide the external and internal policy of the king and also to control the budget. But the king was not prepared to surrender his power, and even though the demand for grants for the army reforms was rejected, he went ahead with his scheme. In 1862 he dissolved the Lower House and fresh elections were held. The new House had a preponderant majority of the Liberal progressive party which stood for constitutional government. An open conflict between the king and Parliament seemed imminent and a first class constitutional crisis was apprehended. The King had three alternatives: (1) He could either abrogate the constitution or dissolve the legislature and rule like an autocrat. (2) He could give up the idea of carrying out army reforms, or (3) He could abdicate.

The king was in a dilemma. He was advised to dissolve the Chamber, but he refused to do so. Then he thought of resigning and actually drafted his abdication but before submitting it, he invited Bismarck to advise him and appointed him Minister-President. Under his advice William tore up the abdication and

flouting the wishes of Parliament continued with his reforms as if the grant had been sanctioned by Parliament.

1. Imp.

C. The Rise of Bismarck (1862)

Otto Von Bismarck who was called upon by William I to form the ministry at a crucial time in the history of Prussia was a man of brutal forthrightness. He was a past-master in diplomacy and was not worried over scruples and for him the end justified the means.

His Early Life. He was born in a noble, conservative family in the year 1815, which marked the downfall of Napoleon. After completing his education he joined the Civil Service, but was dismissed on account of "deficiency in regularity and discipline". During the revolutionary year of 1848-49, he had no sympathy with the Liberals and voted against the constitution of 1850. He also supported King Frederick William IV in rejecting the offer of the crown made by the Frankfurt Parliament. In 1851 he joined the Diplomatic Service and from 1851 to 1859 was a member of the German Diet. As such he got an insight into the working of the Confederation and also into the weaknesses of Austria and he was convinced that Prussia alone was capable of achieving German unity. From 1859 to 1862 he was Prussian ambassador to Russia and in 1862 he was transferred to Paris in the same capacity. So he was able to correctly assess the weakness and strength of both Russia and France and made use of his knowledge to the best advantage of Prussia later on.

As Chief Minister, his views were in perfect consonance with those of his king, William I.

His Aims. They were two-fold:

(1) Prussia must take the lead in the matter of German unification and oust Austria from the German Confederation by force.

(2) Germany must be conquered by Prussia, that is Germany must be Prussianized, rather than that Prussia should lose its identity in Germany. Prussian culture, Prussian traditions, her administrative machinery and her armed might should extend to the whole of Germany.

His Policy of "Blood and Iron". He knew well that his aims could not be achieved by peaceful means. Therefore, to realize them he initiated a policy of "blood and iron". In a memorable speech in Parliament in 1862, he poignantly said,

“The German problem cannot be solved by Parliamentary decrees, but only by blood and iron”. Again, commenting upon the failure of the revolutionary movement, he observed, “Not by speeches and majority resolutions are the great questions of the time decided — that was the mistake of 1848-49 — but by iron and blood”.

This policy therefore demanded that, firstly, Prussia should build up an irresistible army whose striking power should be swift and certain and, secondly, all danger of an international intervention in the German question should be eliminated lest France or Russia might intervene in her disputes with Austria, and deprive her of her fruits of victory. He was not afraid of England and could rely on her neutrality.

The army alone could help him to achieve his objective and so it was his chief interest; it was to be his engine of unification and hence the army reforms must continue. At first he tried to woo the Liberal members of Parliament, but when they did not respond favourably he ignored the Landtag and continued to build up the army in the teeth of bitter antagonism and the opposition of the Liberals. He governed the State without a legal budget. He could afford to flout the wishes of Parliament, because he was pretty certain that the Prussian Liberals would not rebel against the king's authority and he was confident of the support of the masses, if there was a struggle. He was right in reading the mind of the Liberals, and in assessing the political situation in Prussia. The Liberals barked, but did not bite, and Bismarck, undaunted, went along with his scheme.

In order to make sure that France or Russia would not intervene in the internal affairs of Germany, Bismarck played his cards very tactfully. He offered Prussian help to Russia in 1863, at the time of the Polish revolt, and thus he earned Russian gratitude and ensured Russian neutrality in a conflict with Austria.

Having built up the army and assured himself of Russian neutrality, Bismarck now set about to achieve his cherished aim, the unification of Germany under Prussian leadership. The Austro-Prussian rivalry for leadership in Central Europe, begun in the reign of Frederick the Great in the 18th century, when he conquered and annexed Silesia from Maria Theresa, was to be brought to its logical conclusion. Austria must be completely eliminated from Germany. Bismarck was fully aware that the

process of German unification could only be achieved by wars and he was now ready for the impending struggle. German unity was possible only if Denmark, Austria and France were defeated and hence he got ready for the three wars — the Danish war, the Austro-Prussian war and the Franco-Prussian war.

Austria was getting alarmed at the rising military power of Prussia and the growing deterioration in Austro-Prussian relations. Therefore, in order to strengthen her hold on the German Confederation, she proposed to hold a Congress of the princes at Frankfurt and invited Prussia to attend it. Emperor Francis Joseph himself met William I at Gastein and proposed the summoning of an Assembly of princes to reform the federal constitution. Bismarck regarded this proposal as an obstacle to achieving his aims, because any amendment in the federal constitution was likely to strengthen Austrian hold on Germany, and weaken that of Prussia and Bismarck would therefore not support any such move. So under his influence William politely evaded the question. Yet in spite of Prussian apathy, the Congress met at Frankfurt on 14 August, 1863. Prussia abstained and soon it was realized that without her co-operation, the Congress would not be able to achieve anything and so it broke up.

Bismarck scored a diplomatic victory and now precipitated a crisis which led to a war with Denmark.

D. *The Danish War (1864)*

Why Bismarck wanted to fight Denmark. Bismarck wanted a war with Denmark for two reasons:

(1) He wanted to test the striking power of the new Prussian army.

(2) In the event of a victory over Denmark he saw the possibility of a quarrel with Austria over the issue of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein. Such a quarrel might give him a just cause for a war with Austria later.

Causes of the War. It was not difficult to find an excuse to declare war on Denmark.

(a) **Dispute over the Future of Schleswig and Holstein.** The future of the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein which had been governed by Denmark ever since 1490, was now under dispute. Holstein was a member of the German Confederation, and Schleswig was outside it. Their relation with Denmark was

purely "personal", i.e. the King of Denmark was their Duke as well. Holstein had entirely a German population, whereas in Schleswig there was a majority of Germans, but a considerable minority of the Danes. The Danes now desired to incorporate the two Duchies in the kingdom of Denmark, while the Germans there wanted them to be united under a German prince and remain within the Confederation. Prussia too had her eyes on them and wanted to annex them.

The Issue of Succession. The German Diet produced a German prince in the person of the Duke of Augustenburg who now claimed the two Duchies. The dispute threatened to develop into a major catastrophe and the Great Powers intervened.

The Protocol of London (1852). By the Protocol of London to which both Austria and Prussia were signatories, the following agreement was reached:

(i) Frederick VII, King of Denmark was recognized as the Duke of Schleswig and Holstein, but the two Duchies must remain separate.

(ii) Holstein would remain a member of the German Confederation as before.

(iii) Christian of Glucksburg would succeed Frederick VII as King of Denmark.

(iv) The Duke of Augustenburg renounced his claim on payment of a handsome compensation.

So it appeared that the dispute was amicably solved, since both Prussia and Austria had accepted the Treaty.

(b) **The New Constitution (November, 1863).** King Frederick VII issued a new constitution incorporating the Duchy of Schleswig in Denmark and Holstein was granted autonomy. Before the Duchy could be formally annexed he died in November, 1863 and was duly succeeded by Christian IX, the 'Protocol King'. Under popular pressure he inaugurated the new constitution and annexed the Duchy of Schleswig. There was a wave of indignation against the annexation in Germany and the German Diet which was not a party to the Treaty of London, decided to intervene and sent Saxon and Hanoverian troops to occupy Holstein. Moreover, the Diet supported the claim of the new Duke of Augustenburg who asserted that he was not bound by his father's renunciation. As Duke Frederick III he assumed the government of Holstein.

The dispute over the Duchies was becoming serious and Napoleon III proposed that the Treaty of Vienna was no longer valid and hence a new Congress should be summoned to decide all outstanding disputes. Bismarck, in order to win Napoleon's sympathy, outwardly supported him. Austria felt very alarmed at the prospect of upsetting the Treaty of 1815. But nothing came out of the proposal.

Bismarck's Attitude. Bismarck refused to support and co-operate with the Diet in its intervention in Holstein for two reasons. Firstly, he wanted to incorporate the Duchies in Prussia and, secondly, he did not want to support a prince who was friendly to Austria. But he would not allow Schleswig to be annexed outright by Denmark. So he asked Austria as a co-signatory to the Treaty of London to uphold it and to take joint action. And at the same time he sent an ultimatum (February, 1864) to Christian IX to withdraw the November Constitution within 48 hours, knowing fully well that it was not possible, since the Danish Parliament was not in session.

At the end of 48 hours, he declared war in conjunction with Austria.

The war was a short one and the combined armies of Prussia and Austria achieved decisive victories. The Danes were under the false impression that England would support them.

At this stage, a conference of Great Powers was held in London (April, 1864) but nothing came out of it, and the Danes who were completely defeated sued for peace.

The Treaty of Vienna (October, 1864). Denmark lost the Duchies and renounced her right to Holstein, Schleswig and Lauenburg in favour of Austria and Prussia. Both Austria and Prussia, therefore, jointly occupied them.

Importance of the Treaty of Vienna. (1) Bismarck succeeded in ousting Danish influence from the German Confederation.

(2) The future of Schleswig and Holstein was kept vague, purposely, because Bismarck foresaw the cause of a conflict between Austria and Prussia over their future status.

✓ E. *The Austro-Prussian War (1866) or the Seven Weeks' War*

Bismarck next turned his entire attention to a conflict with Austria. She must be expelled from the German Confederation.

Causes of the War: (1) **Austrian Eagerness to join the**

Zollverein and Prussian Opposition. The Zollverein (1842) (customs union) had proved extremely beneficial to Prussia, because the member States in the Customs Union had begun to look up to her instead of Austria for leadership. Austria was alive to the dangers inherent in her exclusion from it and was therefore eager to join it, but only on her own terms. Prussia was definitely antagonistic to the idea and would not allow her to join it. In order to preclude all possibilities of her entry into the Zollverein, Bismarck remodelled it in 1860 on the basis of Free Trade so that Austria, whose system was still Protectionist, might find it difficult to enter it. And in 1862, to further alienate Austria, he made a commercial treaty with France.

(2) **Constitutional dispute in Hesse (May, 1860).** The elector of Hesse, one of the States of the German Confederation, granted a new constitution in 1860, but the Estates demanded a more liberal constitution. Austria and Prussia took opposite sides and when the dispute was referred to the Diet, Austria which had so far been the arch-enemy of liberalism championed the popular cause, while Prussia supported the Elector and upheld his authority. The move made by Austria was mainly directed at discrediting Prussia.

(3) **The Dispute over the Future of Schleswig and Holstein.** By the Treaty of Vienna (1864) the Duchies had been handed over jointly to Austria and Prussia. But their future status was not clearly defined. So a dispute about their future soon developed between Austria and Prussia.

There were two distinct points of view in Germany about their future: (a) The lesser German princes supported by Austria wanted the Duchies to be united under the new Duke of Augustenburg and to remain within the Confederation. (b) Prussia maintained that by the Treaty of Vienna (1864) she and Austria alone had the right to decide their future, because the Danish king had renounced his right in their favour. She would not brook any opposition by the lesser German States in this matter. At the same time, Bismarck proposed to the Duke of Augustenburg that he might support his candidature if he was prepared to join the Zollverein and give naval bases to Prussia. He refused the offer because that would have made him completely subservient to Prussia.

Austria then proposed that the Duchies be annexed by Prussia

in return for Lower Silesia, which should be ceded to Austria. Bismarck rejected the suggestion.

Convention of Gastein (1865). As Austria was not prepared to go to war, a compromise was effected, and by the Convention of Gastein (1865) the following agreement was reached:

(i) The small Duchy of Lauenburg was annexed outright by Prussia.

(ii) Schleswig was handed over to Prussia and was to be administered by her.

(iii) Holstein was to be administered by Austria.

Importance of the Convention of Gastein. (a) It was a great diplomatic victory for Bismarck because he successfully set aside the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg and established the joint sovereignty of Austria and Prussia over the Duchies.

(b) It also marked a distinct breach between Prussia and the lesser German States.

(c) It certainly patched up the quarrel between Austria and Prussia, but was no final settlement of the dispute. Bismarck summed up the situation thus, "We have papered over the cracks". He was certain that the settlement arrived at Gastein would be short-lived, hence he began to make preparations for the final struggle with Austria.

Bismarck's Diplomacy before the War. Bismarck wanted to expel Austria from the German Confederation in order to achieve German unification. But the Confederation had been created by the Congress of Vienna and was guaranteed by the Great Powers. So any attempt to dislodge Austria from her leadership of the Confederation was likely to invite foreign intervention. Therefore, before embarking on a war with Austria, Bismarck desired to isolate Austria and make sure that no foreign power would come to her rescue.

(1) **Great Britain.** The attitude of Great Britain towards German nationalism which was symbolized by Prussia was one of sympathy and by introducing a policy of Free Trade, Bismarck further won over British support.

Moreover, the British people were opposed to the reactionary and illiberal Austrian policy in Hungary and Bohemia where nationalism was being crushed by her.

(2) **Russia.** Bismarck had already won the gratitude of Russia in 1863 when he offered Prussian help in suppressing the

Polish revolt. The Tsar was also annoyed with Austria for not helping Russia in the Crimean war.

(3) **France.** Bismarck was not certain of Napoleon's attitude. Napoleon wanted to keep Germany weak and saw in the Austro-Prussian conflict an opportunity of enhancing his own influence in Germany or of even extending the French borders to the Rhine. So for him a war between the two was desirable. He thought that such a war would be a prolonged one and it would provide him with an opportunity to intervene at the crucial moment and then he would be able to dictate terms to both. He also posed as the protector of the lesser German States in order to win their favour. But Bismarck was too clever for him. He made a journey to Biarritz on 30 September, 1865 and met Napoleon. The two leaders deliberated in secret. Bismarck played on his vanity and his love of nationalism and dangled before him all sorts of baits. He proposed that he might allow Napoleon to annex Belgium or Luxemburg, or even the Rhenish provinces (The Palatinate), if he remained neutral in a struggle between Prussia and Austria. But "nothing was made precise, nothing was committed to paper". Napoleon's apparent neutrality was gained.

(4) **Italy.** Bismarck wanted to have the active support of Italy in a conflict with Austria, so that Austrian troops might have to fight on two fronts and Prussian victory might be easier. Therefore, he negotiated a treaty of alliance with Italy in April, 1866. It was agreed that if Prussia went to war with Austria on the question of the reform of the German Confederation within three months, Italy would also declare war on Austria. And neither side was to make a separate peace treaty. In the event of an allied victory, Italy was to be rewarded with Venetia.

At first Italy rather suspected Bismarck's overtures. Would Prussia not let her down like France in the Austrian war of 1859? So she moved cautiously and she offered to purchase Venetia from Austria for 100,000,000 liras. But when Austria spurned the offer, she accepted the Prussian alliance.

The Pretext for War. Having isolated Austria and having made an alliance with Italy, Bismarck now set about to find an excuse for war with Austria within three months. He now played a double game.

(1) *Accused Austria of violating the Convention of Gastein:* Prussia protested against Austrian method of administration in Holstein

and accused her of supporting the claims of the Duke of Augustenburg. She also attacked her for carrying on propaganda in his favour in the Duchy of Schleswig thereby violating the Convention of Gastein. Austria resented this criticism and protested that the internal administration of Holstein was her concern and that she would not allow Prussia to intervene in the internal affairs of Holstein. The relations between the two countries became very strained and preparations for war were speeded up.

(2) *Prussian proposal for reform of the German Confederation:* Bismarck did not want to declare war on Austria on the issue of the two Duchies, instead, he preferred to be fighting for the question of the reform of the German Confederation and therefore in April, 1866, Prussia proposed the following reforms in the German Diet:

(a) A German National Parliament should be elected on universal suffrage.

(b) Austria should be excluded from it.

(c) The new Confederation should negotiate a special treaty with Austria.

(d) The supreme command of the army of the new Confederation should be vested in Prussia and Bavaria.

Bismarck knew very well that such a scheme of reforms would be rejected by the Diet and then he would get an excuse to declare war on Austria under the terms of the treaty of alliance with Italy.

In June, 1866, Austria retaliated by bringing the question of the Duchies before the Diet and by asking the Diet to reject the Prussian proposals. Prussia asserted that the administration of the two Duchies was purely an affair between Austria and Prussia and that she would not brook any interference by the Diet. She accused Austria of violating the Convention of Gastein and sent troops to occupy Holstein.

Austria therefore asked the Diet to authorize a general mobilization against Prussia. Prussia protested and threatened to withdraw from the Confederation if the Austrian proposal was carried. She announced that every vote cast against her would be a declaration of war. Notwithstanding this threat the Austrian proposal was carried on 14 June and consequently the Prussian representatives withdrew from the Diet.

On 16 June, Prussia declared a "defensive war" on Austria. Italy joined her according to her commitment.

Course of the War. The Prussian preparations were thorough and well-planned. On the other hand Austria was not ready to fight on two fronts. In a short and swift war directed by Moltke, the Prussian troops occupied Hanover, Dresden and Cassel. The Austrians were defeated at Podol and Gitchin. They withdrew to Sadowa, where on the 3 July, 1866, they were decisively defeated. Soon after the battle Moltke remarked to King William who along with Bismarck had moved to the front, "Your Majesty has won not only the battle but the campaign".

On the southern front, though the Italians were defeated at Custoza, they had kept a considerable Austrian force occupied, thus indirectly helping Prussian victories in the north.

Causes of the Austrian Defeat. (1) The Austrian forces were poorly led by Benedik who was no match for Moltke.

(2) The Italians kept a considerable Austrian army engaged in the south.

(3) The Prussian General, Moltke, was a genius and the Prussian army was equipped with the latest guns, while the Austrians still fought with the old muzzle loaders.

RESULTS OF THE WAR

I. The Treaty of Prague (1866)

Bismarck was alive to the dangers of prolonging the war. There was a popular demand that Prussian troops should march on Vienna and occupy it, but such a step was fraught with great complications. France was getting ready to intervene and already there was a bitter criticism of Napoleon's policy in the struggle. The French people regarded Sadowa as a humiliating defeat for France. Thiers gave expression to the French national sentiments when he declared that Prussia must not be allowed to go any further and that France must prevent the unification of Germany at all costs and that freedom of the South German States must be preserved.

Bismarck, therefore, was anxious to bring the war to a speedy end and hence he offered very liberal terms to Austria:

- (1) Holstein was ceded to Prussia.
- (2) The German Confederation was dissolved.
- (3) A North German State under the leadership of Prussia was established.
- (4) A very small war indemnity was imposed on Austria.

(5) Venetia was annexed by Italy.

Criticism of the Treaty. (i) Bismarck did not impose harsh or humiliating terms on Austria for two reasons. Firstly, such terms might have been rejected by Austria and the war would have dragged on and would have offered an opportunity to Napoleon to intervene. Secondly, he wanted to ensure Austrian neutrality in a future conflict with France. He was bitterly criticized by his opponents for offering such liberal terms. But he had achieved his object, and Austria had been excluded from the newly-established North German Confederation.

(ii) Though Italy was defeated, Bismarck kept his promise and Venetia was ceded to her.

(iii) Napoleon missed the greatest opportunity of his life. Had he intervened in the war before the battle of Sadowa he would have become the "arbiter and master" of the situation. He did not envisage that the war would be so swift and short and was therefore not fully prepared. Moreover, he was still embroiled in the Mexican misadventure.

II. *Other Annexations.* Prussia also annexed Schleswig, Hanover, Hesse, Cassel, Nassu and Frankfurt. Thus the Prussian territories became compact and geographically contiguous.

III. *The North German Confederation (1867).* Twenty-two German States north of the river Main constituted themselves into a Confederation under Prussian leadership on the basis of the following constitution:

(a) The king of Prussia would be its President.

(b) The Chancellor and other ministers would be responsible to him.

(c) A bicameral legislature was established.

(i) *The Bundesrat* or the upper house was to consist of 43 delegates, of which 17 would be Prussian.

(ii) *The Reichstag* or the lower house would be composed of 297 members elected on the basis of universal suffrage for three years.

But the real power lay in the hands of the king and his ministers.

IV. *Bill of Indemnity.* The establishment of the North German Confederation was a personal triumph for Bismarck who now

became a national hero. The Prussian Landtag passed a bill of indemnity legalizing the levying of taxation by him since 1862. It was also a vindication of his policy of "blood and iron".

F. *The Franco-Prussian War (1870-71)*

Though Austria had been ousted from the German Confederation, German unification was yet incomplete. The 16 South German States were still out of it and were suspicious of Bismarck's designs and intentions. They must be either cajoled into joining it or annexed by force. In either case there was a strong danger of French intervention. Napoleon would never allow Prussia to annex them. Already the French were clamouring for revenge of Sadowa. So if German unity was to be accomplished, a war with France was inevitable. Therefore military preparations must go ahead, because "to Bismarck and his military friends it was clear they could not reckon on completing the half-finished fabric of German unity without a violent clash with France".

Prussian Preparations for War

(1) **Army Increased and Reorganized.** The army of the North German Confederation was increased and organized on the Prussian model. This extraordinary military activity and expansion in Prussia alarmed France.

(2) **Isolation of France.** Anti-Prussian feelings had been mounting in France. She had not been able to get any compensation from Prussia and her national pride was hurt. Prussia was strongly detested by all French political parties, the Liberals denounced her as reactionary, the Catholics were hostile to her because she was a Protestant power, and "the Patriots" abhorred a strong state on the borders of France. A war with Prussia, therefore, would be most popular, but Napoleon was conscious of the Prussian superiority in arms and also of his growing isolation in Europe. A war with Prussia without any allies would be more or less a gamble and he was not prepared for it yet. Therefore he resorted to diplomacy and tried to gain by it what he hesitated to achieve by war. The French ambassador to Prussia, Count Benedetti, was instructed to demand from Bismarck, Belgium, Luxemburg or the Palatinate as compensation.

119 **Bismarck's Diplomacy.** Here was Bismarck's opportunity.

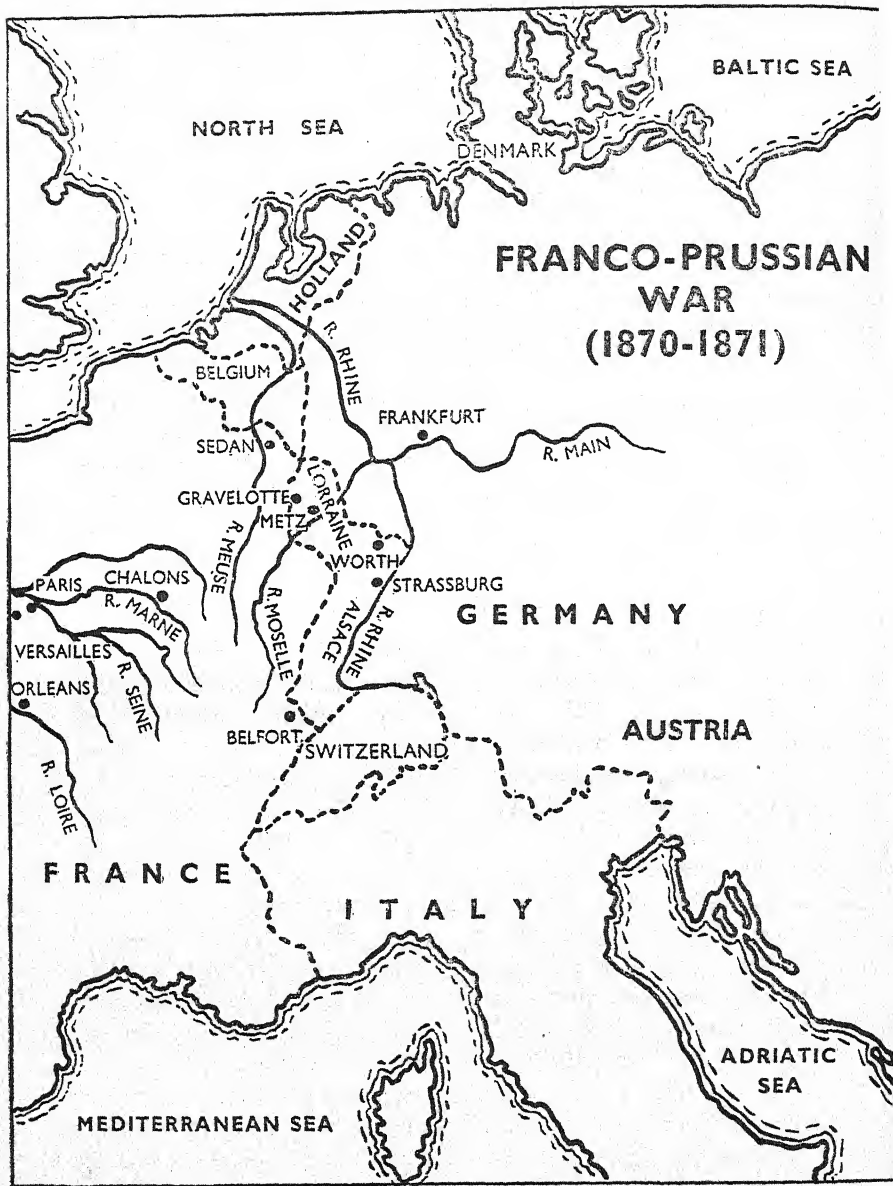


Fig. 8

Napoleon must be thoroughly discredited in the eyes of European Powers and France should be completely isolated before a war on France could be declared.

(1) **Ensured English Neutrality.** England already distrusted Napoleon's intentions. To further worsen Anglo-French relations, Bismarck revealed the French demand of Belgium to England. Thereby he ensured English neutrality in a Franco-Prussian conflict.

(2) **Support of small German States.** He also secured the support of Bavaria and other South German States by revealing to them Napoleon's designs on the Palatinate. So far these states had looked up to France as protector.

(3) **Alliance with Russia.** Next Bismarck made an alliance with Russia. Already relations between Prussia and Russia were cordial, since Bismarck had promised Prussian help at the time of the Polish revolt in 1863. In order to ensure her neutrality, Bismarck suggested to the Tsar that Prussia would raise no objection if Russia denounced the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of Paris (1856) and kept a fleet there. It was further agreed that if Austria took up arms against Prussia, Russia would come to the aid of Prussia.

(4) **Neutrality of Austria.** In order to counteract the Russo-Prussian *entente* Napoleon proposed a Franco-Austrian alliance and met Francis Joseph at Salzburg. But nothing came out of this project, because Austrian opinion was anti-French and there was always the danger of a Russian attack in the event of a war between Austria and Prussia. Moreover, the Austrians, by and large, were satisfied with the terms of the Treaty of Prague (1866) which could have been harsher. Thus she preferred to remain neutral in a possible Franco-Prussian conflict.

(5) **Neutrality of Italy.** Italy was grateful to Prussia for the annexation of Venetia in 1866 but she was annoyed with France, because French troops still garrisoned Rome. Bismarck politely suggested to Italy that in the event of a French defeat, the French troops would be withdrawn from Rome which she could occupy at the opportune moment. Thus he secured her neutrality also.

Bismarck scored another diplomatic victory over Napoleon and having isolated France, he now waited for a suitable opportunity to show her as an aggressor before he declared war on her.

The Immediate Cause of War — the Question of Spanish

Succession. Queen Isabella II was unpopular and inefficient and there was grave discontent in Spain. The army under Marshal Prim revolted against her in September, 1868 and overthrew her. She fled to France and a provisional government under the Presidency of Serrano was established. Marshal Prim became the Minister for War. The question of the future government was to be settled after an election. In 1869, the Cortes, (Spanish Legislature) decided in favour of a constitutional monarchy. A search for a suitable prince began. The Italian king refused the offer for his second son. Marshal Prim then offered the crown to Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern, a Catholic cousin of the king of Prussia. The offer was made thrice, twice in 1869 and once in 1870, but Leopold declined it. The French Ambassador, Benedetti, sought an interview with Bismarck and made it clear to him that France would not accept Leopold's candidature.

Bismarck saw in this demand an opportunity for a war with France and so he secured a fourth offer from Spain (2 July, 1870) and persuaded Leopold to accept it. France reacted very sharply and indignantly to the acceptance. A possible alliance between Prussia and Spain would be a great menace to France and Napoleon protested to both Spain and Prussia. Gramont, the French Foreign Minister, declared the election of Leopold as wholly "inadmissible" and as "upsetting the balance of power". He instructed Count Benedetti to seek an audience with William I who was at Ems, and to ask him to withdraw the candidature. Neither William nor Napoleon wanted a war and consequently on the 12 July, the candidature was withdrawn. It was a great diplomatic victory for France. Bismarck felt disgusted at the pusillanimity of William I and even thought of resigning. A unique opportunity for a war with France was lost. "But the prize of peace no sooner won, was sacrificed by a wanton act of folly", by the French government. Gramont unwisely reopened the question and asked Benedetti to get a guarantee from the Prussian king that the candidature would not be renewed in the future. Benedetti met the king at Ems on 13 July and presented the demand. William politely refused to give the assurance. He also telegraphed to Bismarck at Berlin a description of the events and left it to him how to publish the facts of the interview. Bismarck who was dining with Moltke and Von Roon at the time

"saw that the enemy was delivered into his hands", and exploited the situation.

The Ems Despatch. He decided to publish the report of the interview between the king and the French ambassador in the North German Gazette in such a way that to the French it appeared that their ambassador was insulted by the Prussian king, and to the Prussians as if the French ambassador had been very rude and arrogant to their king. There was great excitement in Paris at the publication of the report and the Ems Despatch had the effect "of a red rag on the Gallic Bull". Passions rose high and newspapers in both countries added fuel to the fire. A war between the two countries seemed imminent. England, in vain, made a last minute effort to mediate.

Napoleon who was ill hesitated at first, but he was overruled by the Empress Eugenie and the ministers and under popular pressure declared war on the 15 July, 1870.

The Course of the Struggle. The South German States joined Prussia in this struggle because they were frightened by Napoleon's intentions of annexing the Rhenish provinces and because they felt it unjust on the part of France to demand that the Hohenzollern candidature should not be renewed.

The French armies were no match for the Prussians who gained very swift victories. On the 6 August the Prussians led by the Crown Prince defeated the French armies under Macmahon at Worth in Alsace, and under Frossard at Spicheren in Lorraine. Macmahon retreated to Chalons. These two defeats had far-reaching effects on France. They completely demoralized the French people and all hopes of initial success in the struggle were lost. Napoleon was overawed and resigned his command in favour of Bazaine. In Paris, Prime Minister Ollivier was replaced by Count de Palikao. But these changes could not stem the onrush of the Prussian advance. On August 18, the Prussians under General Frederick Charles won another great victory at Gravelotte and drove Bazaine to Metz which was besieged by the Prussians.

Macmahon who was at Chalons, on hearing the news of Bazaine's defeat, advised withdrawal to Paris, but he was overruled by the impetuous Empress and was ordered to march out to the relief of Metz. The French defeats had upset the Empress who feared a general revolution in Paris and the fall of the Empire if Macmahon

also retreated. Napoleon also joined Macmahon at Chalons and together they marched out towards Metz but they were encircled at Sedan and forced to capitulate on 2 September. Napoleon was taken prisoner with 100,000 men.

With his defeat and surrender, the empire also fell and on the 4 September, France was declared a republic and a provisional government of National Defence under Leon Gambetta was installed. The Empress fled to England. So "it was the end of Bonapartism, the system of monarchy based upon the plebiscite, which, after nearly uniting all Europe under the sceptre of the first Napoleon, ended by leaving France shorn of territory and prestige and faced by a new and formidable rival".

The Prussians, after their victory at Sedan, marched upon Paris and besieged it. The Provisional Government would not surrender and under the inspiration of Gambetta continued the war. He escaped to Rouen and raised a *levee en masse* of 180,000 men within six weeks. The new French army under D'Aurelles won the first victory of the war at Coulmiers. But the French success was short-lived. On the 27th October Bazaine surrendered at Metz with an army of 170,000 men. Consequently, a considerable Prussian army was released to strengthen the siege of Paris and fight against Aurelles. Paris was heavily bombarded and the civilian population suffered greatly from panic, cold and hunger. At last Paris surrendered on 28 January, 1871, and the Government sued for an armistice. Elections were to be held in France for an assembly which would pronounce on the question of peace. The new Assembly met at Bordeaux in February, 1871 and elected Thiers as head of the Executive to negotiate peace with Prussia. He had tried to stop France from declaring war in 1870 and had since then wandered all over Europe to enlist support for France. But his mission had failed.

By the Peace of Versailles February, 1871, Bismarck demanded the whole of Alsace and a great part of Lorraine and a heavy war indemnity. Thiers was reluctant to accede to these demands. Therefore, "Bismarck threatened to treat with Napoleon". After protracted negotiations the final terms of peace were agreed upon and the treaty of Frankfurt was signed.

The Treaty of Frankfurt (May, 1871):

(1) France ceded to Germany the whole of Alsace except Belfort.

- (2) She also gave her eastern Lorraine including Metz.
- (3) France had to pay a war indemnity amounting to 200 million pounds.
- (4) A German army was to occupy France until the indemnity was paid.

The treaty was ratified by the Assembly at Bordeaux by 433 votes to 98.

Importance of the Treaty. The annexation of Alsace and part of Lorraine by Germany was the cause of a perpetual quarrel between her and France. No doubt Alsace was a German province and historically both Alsace and Lorraine had belonged to Germany, but for over a century they had been governed by France and had profited by the French social legislation. The people there were not consulted at all in this transfer and so it was not fair to them.

Causes of the French Defeat. The following causes contributed to the French defeat:

- (1) The French army was ill-organized and quite often the French soldiers had to travel a good deal to get their uniforms and arms. The German system was efficient and the German soldiers were equipped in no time.

- (2) The German railway system worked smoothly and troops could be sent with great speed to the front. On the other hand there was utter confusion in the French transport system.

- (3) The German preparations for war were thorough and detailed maps of campaigns had been prepared and studied carefully. Their information system was perfect and they knew when and how the French troops were being deployed.

- (4) The Prussian army had a large number of reserves, whereas the French army had no reserves.

- (5) The German commanders were far more efficient than the French who lacked initiative and suffered from indecision. Moltke was a master of strategy and military craft.

- (6) There was hardly any co-operation between the French civilian authorities and the army commanders while the Germans worked like a team.

- (7) Napoleon had banked on the support of the South German States but they joined Prussia.

Results of the Prussian Victory. (1) *Unification of Germany achieved:* In the general enthusiasm and patriotism all over

Germany, the princely jealousies were forgotten and the South German States which had fought side by side with Prussia decided to join the North German States to form a united Germany. On 18 January, 1871, while the siege of Paris was still going on, the united German Empire was inaugurated and proclaimed in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles. "There surrounded by sovereigns, generals and soldiers, Bismarck read the imperial decree which sealed the first part of his life work and the Grand Duke of Baden led the loud cheers for King William I of Prussia, now by the Grace of God and the will of his fellow princes, German Emperor."

German unification had been achieved and the dream of German patriots had come true.

(2) *Italian Unification Completed*: French forces were withdrawn from Rome after their defeat at Gravelotte and as soon as they withdrew, it was occupied by the forces of Piedmont and Rome was declared to be the capital of Italy.

(3) *Advantage to Russia*: Russia repudiated the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of Paris (1856) and built up a naval base there.

To sum up, the clever and ruthless diplomacy of Bismarck achieved within the small period of a decade German unification which had eluded the German patriots in 1848. Austria was successfully ousted. The French were humbled. Prussia had successfully Prussianized Germany as a result of her policy of "Blood and Iron".

Chapter 20

THE EASTERN QUESTION (UP TO THE WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE)

AFTER THE sack of Constantinople by the Muslims in 1453, the Ottoman Turks carved out a vast empire in south-eastern Europe and along the north coast of Africa in the 16th and 17th centuries. There were bitter wars between them and the Christian rulers of Europe. In 1682 the Turks over-ran Hungary and in 1683 appeared at the very gates of Vienna and Emperor Leopold I was terribly hard-pressed. The existence of the Holy Roman Empire itself was in danger. But John III (Sobieski), King of Poland, came to his rescue and defeated the Turks. The siege of Vienna was raised and the wave of Turkish conquests was halted.

With this defeat began a steady decline of the Turkish Empire which continued right up to the end of the First World War. This steady and gradual fall of the Turkish Empire gave rise to an "intractable and interwoven tangle of conflicting interests" and to "the problem of filling up the vacuum created by the gradual disappearance of the Turkish Empire from Europe". This problem has been popularly called the "Eastern Question". A Russian diplomat has defined the problem in the following words, "This damned Eastern Question is like a gout. Sometimes it takes you in the leg, sometimes it nips your hand. One is lucky if it does not fly to the stomach". Throughout the 19th century the whole Balkan Peninsula was in a state of turmoil and if revolt was quelled in one part, it made its appearance in another.

So the Eastern Question seized the minds of European diplomats, baffled them and defied a satisfactory solution. The question was further complicated on account of the divergent and conflicting interests of the Great Powers.

WHAT THE "EASTERN QUESTION" WAS

The Question included the following problems:

(1) **Future of Subject Races.** What was to happen to the Balkan States like Bulgaria, Serbia, Rumania, Greece, etc. as the Ottoman Empire declined, or as the "sick man of Europe", viz. Turkey, became more and more sick?

(2) **Control of the Black and Mediterranean Seas.** With this question was inevitably associated the control of the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. If the Turkish power declined, should Russia be allowed to control them and thus gain access to the Mediterranean?

Factors which made it Intricate and Complicated

It was made exceedingly complicated by the following factors:

(a) **Religious.** The presence of a foreign militant religious element in Christian Europe gave rise to bitter religious disputes between the Muslims and the Christians. A very large majority of the Sultan's subjects in the Balkans were Christians and belonged to the Orthodox Church. They had suffered long from religious persecution and Muslim atrocities. They wanted to throw off the Sultan's yoke. Russia which also professed the Orthodox religion championed their cause and posed as their protector.

(b) **Rise of Nationalism.** French Revolutionary principles and the Napoleonic wars had also roused a spirit of nationalism among the people of the Balkans. The Serbs, the Greeks, the Rumanians, etc. wanted to achieve their national independence from the Porte (The Sultan of Turkey). But the existence of a number of nationalities further complicated the problem. They spoke different languages and had separate social customs and there was no possibility of their joining together and making common cause against the Porte.

(c) **Economic Rivalry.** Turkey controlled the trade routes to the East and both France and England were eager to maintain the communications with their eastern empires intact. Though they would not like Turkey to be weak they would not like Russian influence to extend southward.

(d) **Political Rivalry:** (i) *Russian Attitude.* Russia, which, since the days of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, had been trying to expand southward at the cost of Turkey, saw in her

steady decline a suitable opportunity to achieve her aim and to acquire control of the Black Sea, the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles and also gain access to the Mediterranean Sea. She regarded Turkey as utterly barbarian and insisted that her relations with the Ottoman Empire were only her "domestic concern". She would not permit any foreign intervention. Therefore, she fished in the troubled waters of the Balkan peninsula and by the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774) acquired the right to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan. Posing as protector and saviour of the Slav Christians she was determined to substitute her influence for that of the Porte in the Balkans.

(ii) *British and French Attitude.* The British and French suffered from Russo-phobia and would not allow Russia to expand southward, because they feared that Russian influence in the Balkans and her control of the Mediterranean might endanger their communications with the East. Hence any attempt by her to oust the Turks from the Balkans was likely to be resisted by both of them. They were interested in maintaining the *status quo* as far as possible and did not want to weaken Turkey unduly.

(iii) *Austrian Attitude.* Metternich, the great reactionary upholder of the principle of legitimacy, would not countenance any revolutionary movements in the Balkans and believed in maintaining the Sultan's authority unimpaired. Any attempt by the subject races to overthrow the Porte's sovereignty was to be resisted in the interest of the safety of the Austrian Empire which was also composed of a number of subject races. Nor should Russia be allowed to expand her influence in the Balkans because Austria too had her eyes on the provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia.

(e) **Disaffection of Turkish Governors.** Ambitious and disloyal governors, like Ali of Janina and Mehmet Ali of Egypt who desired to carve out independent principalities for themselves, further complicated the question.

How then was this thorny question to be settled? It did not lead itself to an easy solution on account of the divergence of creeds, nationalities and social customs of the people of the Balkans and on account of the conflicting interests and rivalries of the Great Powers. Yet, in spite of them, one by one the Balkan people struggled for their independence in the 19th century and achieved it.

THE STRUGGLE FOR SERBIAN INDEPENDENCE

The Serbs were the first to rebel against the Turks, whose hold on Serbia was nominal. Imbued with the spirit of nationality they rose in revolt against the suzerain power in 1804, under the leadership of Kara George who gained temporary success. But on account of the rivalry and jealousy of another Serbian named Milos Obrenovitch, Kara George was killed in 1817 and Turkish authority was restored. Turkish atrocities and tyranny once again roused the Serbs who raised the banner of revolt under Obrenovitch. The Serbs succeeded in gaining a limited amount of local autonomy though the sovereignty of the Sultan was maintained. During and after the War of Greek Independence further concessions were granted to the Serbs and by the Treaty of Adrianople (1829) the complete autonomy of the Serbs was recognized.

✓ THE WAR OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE (1821-32)

Its Causes

(1) **Political.** The Greeks enjoyed greater political autonomy and privileges than any of the other Christian subjects of the Porte. They held high offices and for some time even the Foreign Office was under a Greek. They were skilful mariners and had built a powerful fleet which stood them in good stead in their struggle against the Turks. Even the Greek Patriarch, the Head of the Orthodox Church, had privileged relations with the Porte. He was the official link between the Turks and the Greeks and was "a kind of Under Secretary to the Grand Vizier for the affairs of the Orthodox Christians". Having been granted more concessions and being more sensitive than others they resented the Turkish tyranny and atrocities and desired to overthrow the Turkish yoke.

(2) **National and Literary Revival.** The Greeks had not forgotten their ancient glory though they had degenerated considerably. A national awakening roused by poets and philosophers like Adamantios Korais (1748-1833) and Rhigas (1753-98) infused a new spirit in them. The Greek language was purified, a love of the old classic Greek was instilled in the people, and national songs roused a wave of phil-Hellenism in them.

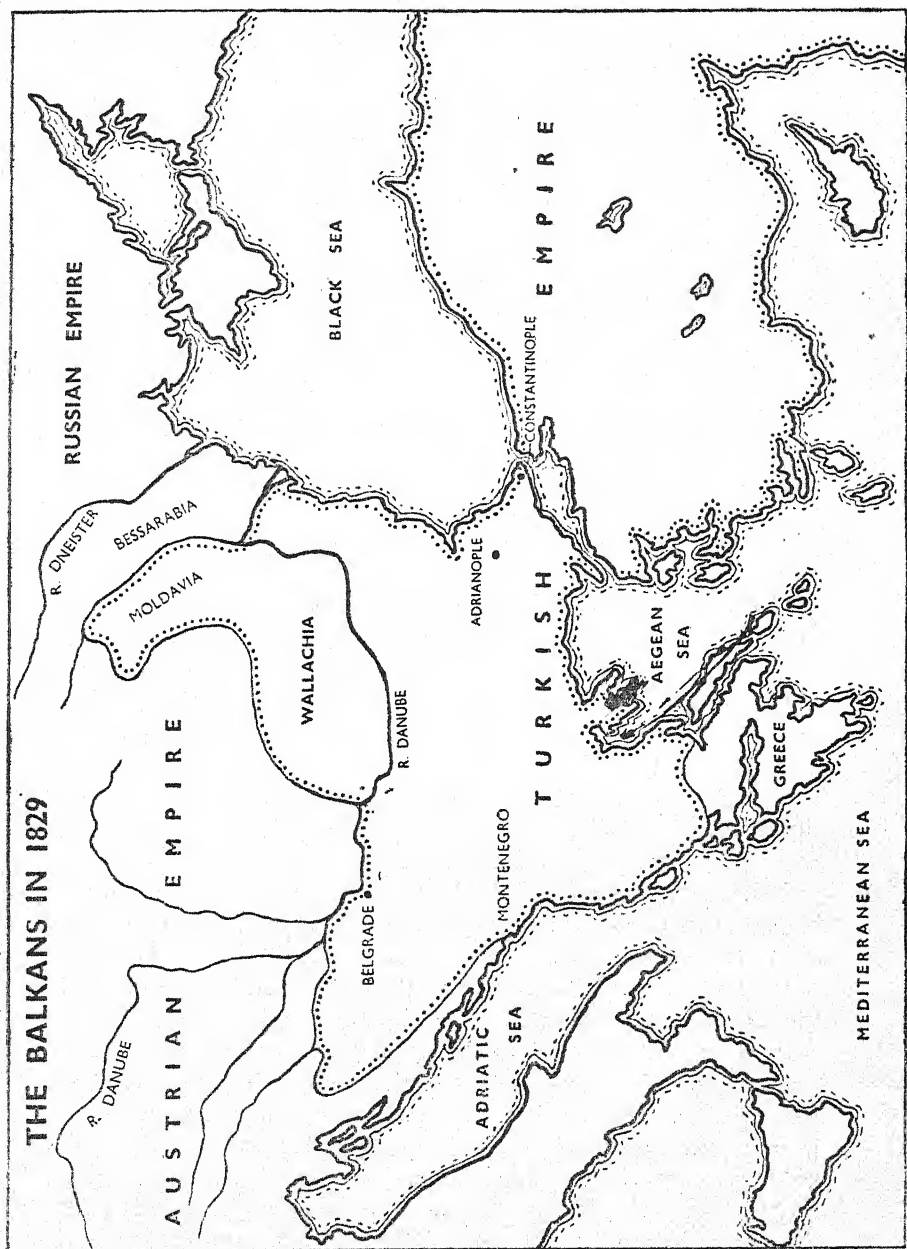


Fig. 9

Consequently, an urge to revive the old Orthodox Empire of Byzantium seized them.

(3) **Influence of the French Revolution.** The French Revolutionary movement and the Jacobin clubs had a profound influence on the Greeks who organized themselves in 1814 at Odessa into a secret society known as Philike Hetairia. Like the Carbonari of Italy, it aimed at achieving national independence and establishing a Greek Empire. A large number of volunteers were enlisted and a sense of unity and coherence was created among the people. "Emboldened by impunity, the society began to make preparations for an actual rising."

(4) **Immediate Cause—The Revolt of Ali Pasha of Janina.** Ali Pasha, a Governor of the Sultan, rose in revolt and carved out an independent principality along the Albanian seaboard. The Porte's preoccupation with this rising offered a suitable opportunity to the Greek patriots to overthrow the Turkish suzerainty.

The Course of the Struggle

Hypsilanti's Revolt in Moldavia. The first Greek revolt took place under Prince Alexander Hypsilanti (Ypsilanti), the Governor of Moldavia, who had hoped to secure Russian help as Count Capo d'Istria, a Greek, was a minister of the Tsar. The news of his revolt reached the Great Powers at the Congress of Laibach (1821). The English reaction was one of sympathy, because, having enjoyed nationalism at home, the English habitually supported nationalism abroad. But Metternich the arch-enemy of all liberal movements and a stern upholder of the principle of legitimacy denounced it. He feared that if the revolt succeeded it might spread to the Danubian basin and cause ruination of the Austrian Empire. Tsar Alexander was in a dilemma. Was he to uphold the Christian principles of the Holy Alliance and help the Christian Greeks against the 'infidel' Turks, or was he to support the principle of legitimacy and decry the Greek revolt against the legitimate authority of the Porte? But Metternich's influence was overbearing and he was persuaded to issue a proclamation disavowing all sympathy with the Greeks and bidding the rebels to return to the allegiance of the Sultan. As no help came from Russia, the rising collapsed in June, 1821 and Hypsilanti fled to Austria where he was caught and imprisoned. He died in exile in 1828.

The Revolt in Morea (1821). But before the revolt in Moldavia was suppressed another rising under the auspices of the Philike Hetairia was organized in Morea. The rebel leaders were Anagnostas and Kolokotrones. Archbishop Germanos of Patras also joined the insurrection which enveloped the mainland as well as the islands in the Aegean Sea. The struggle was marked by terrible atrocities on both sides. The Greeks massacred about 25,000 Turks in Morea and captured Tripolitza where even the prisoners were slaughtered. "The Turks shall live no longer, neither in Morea nor in the whole earth," was the Greek battle cry.

Turkish Retaliation. The Turks retaliated and in their turn massacred the Greeks. So "the war was from the outset, one of barbarians against barbarians". On 22 April, 1821, Sultan Mahmud II (1808-39) deposed the patriarch Gregorios who was responsible for the good behaviour of the Christian people and on Easter Day (23 April, 1821) he was hanged, still in his robes, outside his palace in Constantinople. "The execution of the Patriarch was worse than a crime, it was a mistake." It shocked the entire Christian world. Thereafter national and religious feelings were stirred to their depths in Russia, which was the protector of the Christian people. The cry for a crusade rent the sky. Tsar Alexander was incensed at the treatment meted out to his co-religionists and recalled the Russian ambassador and sent an ultimatum to Turkey asking her to comply with the following demands within eight days:

- (1) Greek Churches should be restored immediately.
- (2) Christians should be guaranteed protection and security.
- (3) The Turkish government should allow Russia to pacify the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.

The Sultan did not answer within eight days and a war between Turkey and Russia seemed imminent.

The Greek struggle for independence had a two-fold aspect from the very beginning. Firstly, the Greeks desired to win freedom from the Porte's yoke and, secondly, Russia wanted to take advantage of the struggle to enhance her own influence in the Balkans.

Diplomatic Activity — the Difficulties of the Great Powers

Feverish diplomatic activity went on in all European capitals to solve the tangle while the Greeks continued their stubborn resistance against the Turks and proclaimed their independence in January, 1822.

Attitude of England. In the past, Castlereagh, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, who had become a great friend of Metternich, had protested, but acquiesced in "the collective system for enforcing discipline in foreign lands". But Canning, who succeeded him in 1822, was an "exponent of popular and liberal diplomacy". He would not accept this principle and would not support the Holy Alliance Powers to enforce reactionary measures to suppress nationalism and liberalism. He was determined to prevent them from intervening in the internal affairs of foreign countries. He sympathized with the Greeks but, at the same time, he did not want to weaken Turkey. Nor would he allow Russia to coerce the Sultan.

Attitude of Austria. Metternich regarded the insurrection as a manifestation of revolutionary temper and he was averse to reopening the Eastern Question. So under Austrian and British pressure the Porte yielded to the Russian demand and evacuated the principalities. The danger of a Russo-Turkish war receded for the time being.

The Turks failed to suppress the Greek uprising on account of the latter's superiority at sea. They indulged in terrible atrocities and thousands of Greeks were massacred at Chios in April, 1822. In June, the Greek rebel leader Kanaris burnt the Turkish flagship. This event was hailed by all the Christian people. Greek heroism attracted the admiration and sympathy of the people of Europe who joined the Greek rebel army in large numbers. Lord Byron, the English poet, lent the mighty support of his pen and sword and laid down his life in the cause of Greek freedom.

Further Diplomatic Activity

Canning was deeply stirred by Greek tenacity and felt horrified at the brutality of the Turks. Under popular pressure he recognized the Greeks as belligerents in March, 1823.

In order to solve the problem, Tsar Alexander proposed a conference of Great Powers at St. Petersburg to arrange joint intervention on the basis of Greek autonomy under the suzerainty

of the Porte. But Metternich opposed the proposal. He preferred complete independence for Greece. He thought that autonomous Greece would be ultimately under the influence of Russia. Canning was averse to any coercion of the Porte and since the Greek rebels had refused to be bound by the decision of the Conference, he was not enthusiastic about it.

As the Sultan could not quell the revolt himself in 1825 he invited Mehmet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, to help him. Mehmet Ali was promised the suzerainty of Crete and Pashalik of Syria. His son Ibrahim Pasha landed in South Morea and indulged in wild and terrible massacres. He easily defeated the Greeks and laid the country desolate. Thousands of Christian people were exterminated and women and children were sold into slavery. The Turkish atrocities roused the conscience of the Christian world. Once again the Russians clamoured for war.

Canning suggested joint intervention to Russia but at the same time made it clear that he would not permit any coercion of the Porte. Tsar Alexander threatened to take action by himself, but before he could act, he died in December, 1825. He was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I. Canning renewed the offer of joint action and sent Wellington as a special envoy in February, 1826 to congratulate the Tsar on his accession and to settle the basis of joint intervention. Canning did not want to give a free hand to Russia lest her influence might become preponderant in the "Near East". In April, 1826, England and Russia arrived at an agreement by the Protocol of St. Petersburg on the basis of Greek autonomy under the Sultan's suzerainty. It was a personal triumph for Canning. But it only solved the Greek question, it did not settle the relations between Turkey and Russia.

But while the negotiations were going on, Russia sent an ultimatum to Turkey on 26 March, 1826 and presented the following demands:

- (1) Turkish police must be withdrawn from the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.
- (2) Serbian deputies must be released.
- (3) Turkish plenipotentiaries should be sent to the frontier to have a final settlement.

Threatened by the Russian ultimatum, Mahmud carried out

army reforms in June, 1826. But the Turkish military caste, known as the Janissaries, disapproved of them and revolted against him. Though many of them were massacred, the Sultan was not in a position to ignore the ultimatum. Realizing that discretion was the better part of valour he came to an agreement with Russia. By the Treaty of Akkerman, October, 1826, all Russian demands were accepted and full diplomatic relations were renewed.

The dispute between Russia and Turkey seemed to be solved but Turco-Greek hostility continued. Ibrahim's war of ruthless extermination and depopulation of Morea angered the civilized world. The Greeks, in despair, appealed to England for help. Under Canning's inspiration, the Protocol of St. Petersburg was converted into the *Treaty of London* in July, 1827. England, Russia and France decided on joint intervention. Austria and Prussia kept aloof.

- (1) Armistice was to be offered to the belligerents, and
- (2) Greece was to be granted autonomy under the suzerainty of the Sultan.

The allies decided to take joint action and sent their fleets to enforce the armistice. The Greeks accepted mediation, but the Porte indignantly rejected any intervention by foreign powers.

The Battle of Navarino (20 October, 1827)

The combined fleets declared a "pacific" blockade of Navarino bay and were determined to put a stop to Turkish atrocities. But a chance shot by the Turks on the allied fleet caused a naval battle and the Turco-Egyptian fleet was destroyed.

Effects of the Battle

(1) **English Reaction — the Policy of Wellington.** Canning died in August, 1827 and Wellington who succeeded him reversed his policy. England regarded the battle as most unfortunate and the king in his speech referred to it as "an untoward event". The integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire must be maintained and traditional friendly relations with her must be restored. Thus he completely ignored Canning's diplomacy and withdrew from the war and allowed Russia to fight against the Turks single-handed.

(2) **Setback to Metternich's Policy.** It was a great blow to the "Metternich system". The Russian Tsar was openly supporting the rebels against the "legitimate" authority.

(3) **Blow to Turkish Navy.** The destruction of their fleet made it impossible for the Turks to suppress the Greek revolt. Greek independence was almost ensured.

(4) **Turkish Demand for Compensation.** Turkey claimed compensation for the destruction of the Turkish fleet, but England refused to entertain the demand.

Russo-Turkish War (1828)

On 20 December, 1827, the Sultan repudiated the Treaty of Akkerman and declared a holy war on Russia. In Russia too there was a popular demand for action against Turkey and so the Tsar declared war early in 1828. He himself took the field and the Russian forces occupied the Principalities.

England and France thereupon felt alarmed and concluded a protocol and decided to intervene. The French despatched their troops to Morea, but meanwhile the English navy, demonstrated before Alexandria and forced Mehmet Ali to sign the Convention of Alexandria in July, 1828. Mehmet Ali agreed to evacuate Morea and to exchange prisoners. The Russian navy declared a blockade of the Dardanelles and the Russian army under Diebitsch continued its advance and in September captured Adrianople without firing a shot. Constantinople itself was in danger and so the Turks sued for peace.

The Treaty of Adrianople (September, 1829). (1) The Porte accepted the Treaty of London and Greek independence under Turkish suzerainty was recognized.

(2) The Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia became autonomous under the protection of Russia.

(3) Autonomy was granted to the Serbs.

(4) Russian title to Georgia and Caucasus was recognized.

(5) Russian traders in the Balkans would be exclusively under the jurisdiction of the Russian Consuls.

Its Importance and Reaction. (a) It considerably enhanced Russian prestige and influence in the Balkans.

(b) Russia claimed all credit for the independence of Greece. The principle of nationality triumphed over the principle of legitimacy.

(c) It roused the jealousy of the Great Powers who were alarmed at Russian expansion in the Principalities. Hence England and Austria proposed the following solution of the Greek problem:

- (i) Greece should be fully independent and should be a monarchy.
- (ii) The crown was offered to Leopold of Coburg.

But Capo d'Istria, who had been virtual dictator since the battle of Navarino, refused to accept these terms and Leopold also backed out. So a new solution was necessary.

The situation was further complicated by the following events:

(a) There was a revolution in France in 1830 and Charles X was overthrown.

(b) Capo d'Istria was assassinated and consequently there was complete anarchy in Greece.

(c) In England, the Tory government of Wellington fell in November, 1830 and the Whigs came to power. Lord Palmerston became the new Foreign Minister. He was very sympathetic to the cause of the Greeks.

After protracted negotiations another protocol was signed in September, 1831 and the following proposals were made:

- (i) Greece should be completely independent.
- (ii) Her frontiers were extended from the Gulf of Volo in the east to Arta in the west.
- (iii) Prince Otto, second son of King Louis of Bavaria, was offered the crown.

In May, 1832, a formal treaty embodying the above proposals was signed.

The establishment of an independent Greece was an event of great significance. "It was here that the first successful blow was administered to the autocratic government of Europe by Congress; here that the Ottoman Empire received its most sensible wound; here that the modern spirit of nationalism, afterwards destined to govern Italy and Poland, Bohemia and Ireland and to bring the Austrian Empire to the ground, won its first romantic and resounding triumph."

Chapter 21

THE EASTERN QUESTION (1832-41)

MEHMET ALI AND THE PORTE

THE TROUBLES of the Sultan did not come to an end with the achievement of Greek independence. Mehmet Ali, his unfaithful but ambitious Viceroy of Egypt, demanded the price of his assistance in suppressing the Greek revolt. He had been promised the Pashalik of Syria, Morea and Crete. He had so far got only Crete. Morea was now out of the question on account of the intervention of the Great Powers, but Syria was still claimed by him and he was determined to have it by force, if need be.

Mehmet Ali who was born in 1769, was an Albanian by race, and had joined the Turkish army at the time of Napoleon's invasion of Egypt. His extraordinary military skill earned him the Viceroyalty of Egypt. But that was not the end of his ambition. He wanted to make Egypt virtually independent of the Sultan and, if possible, to extend his sway to Syria and Asia Minor. Therefore in order to achieve his dream he reorganized his army on the French pattern and raised two fleets, one in the Mediterranean and the other in the Red Sea and built a magnificent dockyard in Alexandria. Side by side with military expansion, he carried out economic reforms and sent students abroad to study industrial development, built the Mahmudia Canal and improved agriculture and industry.

Having carried out military and economic reforms he found himself strong enough to force the Sultan to redeem his promise made at the time of the Greek insurrection. But at the same time he did not want to show that he was disloyal to the Sultan. So he waited for a suitable opportunity. In 1832 under his able and efficient but cruel son Ibrahim Pasha, he sent an army into Palestine on the pretext that Abdullah, the Pasha of Acre, had refused to

surrender "Egyptian rebels" who had sought refuge with him. Acre and Damascus were easily captured. The Sultan protested but Mehmet Ali feigned that his sole object was to chastise Abdullah.

TURCO-EGYPTIAN WAR (1832-33)

Alarmed at Ibrahim's success the Sultan sent an army under Hussain Pasha, but Ibrahim inflicted a crushing defeat on the Turkish army at Beilam.

The Sultan was unnerved and made a desperate appeal to the Great Powers for help. France was definitely antagonistic, having conquered Algeria in 1830, and was on friendly terms with the rebel Viceroy. Great Britain, by supporting Turkey, did not want to offend France with whom she had cordial relations at this time. Moreover, she was too busy with the question of the First Reform Bill to intervene in the Eastern Question. Only Russia was willing to help and offered to go to the aid of the Sultan. This attitude of Russia was distinctly different from her traditional hostility to Turkey. After the war of Greek Independence she had realized that by the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire she did not stand to gain. The independent Balkan states would not submit to her influence, whereas a weak Turkey might. So for the next decade or so her policy towards Turkey was that of peaceful penetration of her influence in her internal affairs.

The Sultan had no alternative but to lean on Russia. He said, "A drowning man will grasp at a serpent", and accepted the Russian offer.

A Russian fleet anchored before Constantinople in 1833. This roused the jealousy of the French and the British who vigorously protested to the Sultan for seeking Russian help and demanded its withdrawal. But the Tsar refused to withdraw it until Ibrahim retreated beyond the Taurus mountains. Mehmet Ali would not ask his son to do so unless Syria and part of Mesopotamia and the port of Adana were ceded to him.

Another Russian fleet appeared at the Bosphorus and a formidable Russian army moved to Scutari. The Great Powers, particularly France and England, were alarmed at the growing Russian influence in Turkey and put pressure on Mehmet Ali and the Sultan to come to terms.

By the *Convention of Kiutayah (or Kutaya)*, (April, 1833) all the

terms of Mehmet Ali were conceded. But the Sultan could not forget the humiliating treaty, which his so-called friends, the Western Powers, had forced upon him. Russia took full advantage of this frustration of the Sultan and the Russian ambassador Orloff succeeded in gaining his favour. He convinced him that Russia was his friend and would maintain the integrity of his Empire. A treaty of alliance between Russia and Turkey followed.

The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi (8 July, 1833)

The Sultan signed the offensive and defensive treaty of Unkiar Skelessi with Russia. It had an important secret clause whereby the Straits of Dardanelles were closed "on the demand of Russia to the war vessels of all nations". This treaty marked the zenith of Russian influence in Turkish affairs and placed the Ottoman Empire under the military protection of Russia.

The Western Powers sent angry protests to Russia and Turkey against the violation of the neutrality of the Straits and Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, was determined to break the treaty at the earliest opportunity.

REVIVAL OF WAR BETWEEN TURKEY AND EGYPT (1839-41)

The Sultan never forgot the loss of Syria to his 'rebel' Viceroy of Egypt and made preparations to recover it. Turkish armies were drilled and organized on the Prussian model and by 1839 he felt strong enough to oust Mehmet Ali from Syria. The Turkish army under Hafiz Pasha crossed the Euphrates and invaded Syria, but Ibrahim Pasha utterly routed it at Nessib on 24 June, 1839.

To make things worse for the Turks, Sultan Mahmud II died on the 30th June. He was succeeded by Abdul Mejid, (1839-1861) a lad of sixteen, and the prospects for the Turks became more gloomy when, soon after, the Turkish fleet surrendered to Mehmet Ali.

Intervention of the Great Powers

The Great Powers forestalled Russia and before she could go to the aid of Turkey, according to the terms of the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, they intervened and placed the young Sultan under their protection.

But in the Turco-Egyptian dispute, the interests of the Great

Powers clashed. France, in order to extend her influence in Egypt, supported Mehmet Ali and suggested that he should be left in full control of his conquests and that England and France should take joint action if Russia intervened in the struggle. It was feared that Russia would invoke the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi and intervene on the side of the Sultan. So if both France and Russia were given a free hand in the Turco-Egyptian dispute, there was always a possibility of their coming to terms and dividing their spheres of influence in the Ottoman Empire. Palmerston would not allow any accession of strength to either France or Russia through the weakening of the Sultan and hence he rejected the French suggestion. Russia was quick to see the divergence in the points of view of England and France and exploited the situation in order to reach an understanding with the former.

Through Brunnow, Tsar Nicholas made the following offer to Palmerston, if Great Britain was prepared to reach an understanding with Russia:

- (1) The Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi should lapse.
- (2) Russia would not take unilateral action in the affairs of Turkey.
- (3) The Straits would be closed to all ships of war.

The Tsar also suggested that a coalition of Great Powers should decide the future of the Turco-Egyptian tangle.

Palmerston hesitated for a while, but he would neither allow France to challenge British naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, nor would he leave the solution of the Eastern Question to Russia single-handed. Therefore, after mature consideration, he accepted the Russian offer now that the obnoxious Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had been voluntarily withdrawn.

The Quadruple Alliance (July, 1840)

Consequently, by the Convention of London, a Quadruple Alliance between Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia was formed. France was not invited and she felt slighted. They agreed to take concerted action against Mehmet Ali and told him that if he yielded within ten days, he would receive the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt and the administration of Syria and Acre for his lifetime. If he did not, the offer would be withdrawn and if

he continued to be obdurate even after another ten days, the whole question would be discussed again.

Mehmet Ali, depending upon the promises of help of the French government, disregarded the warning and defied the coalition. Thiers, the French Prime Minister, wanted to support Mehmet Ali and go to war with England, but Louis Philippe overruled his bellicose Prime Minister and dismissed him. He was not prepared to fight against the Quadruple Alliance.

The British, Austrian and Turkish fleets defeated Ibrahim at Beirut and the Syrian people also rose in revolt against him. The allies reconquered the whole of Syria and Admiral Napier threatened to bombard Alexandria. Mehmet Ali was coerced to surrender and sued for peace.

The Treaty of London (1841)

Mehmet Ali renounced his claim on Syria and in return the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt was conferred on him. Thus the curtain was drawn on the Turco-Egyptian quarrel. The net results of the Treaty were as follows:

- (1) The integrity of the Ottoman Empire was maintained.
- (2) The prestige of Great Britain was revived. The Sultan began to depend more on her than on Russia and Palmerston made it clear that he would not allow any solution of the Eastern Question in which Great Britain had no say.
- (3) An understanding was reached between Great Britain and Russia.
- (4) France at the moment stood isolated. Her national pride was wounded.

The Convention of the Straits (1842)

The Great Powers did not keep France aloof for long, for she was invited to sign the Convention of the Straits in 1842, by which the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus were closed to the warships of all nations.

Chapter 22

THE EASTERN QUESTION (1853-56)

THE CRIMEAN WAR (1854-56)

THERE WAS a lull in the affairs of the Eastern Question from 1841 to 1852 and apparently peace reigned in the Near East. This interval was utilized by the Sultan in carrying out military, social and educational reforms in order to bring the backward Turks in line with the other European nations. The task was by no means easy on account of the opposition of the Ulemas who formed a reactionary class and denounced all reforms. They wished to perpetuate their hold on politics and society through their influence in the Church. Yet in spite of them the Sultan set his house in order to some extent and on the advice of Rashid Pasha, who as Turkey's ambassador to London had learnt his lessons in liberalism, granted a charter of liberties promising security of life, property and honour to every subject irrespective of his religion, creed or nationality. This was a great step forward towards granting full religious toleration to all his subjects. The army too was reorganized and remodelled on European fashion. Every soldier had to do active service for five years, to be followed by a period of seven years as a reserve. Alongside this, technical and scientific education also received some attention.

These reforms certainly infused a new spirit among the Turks and roused in them new hopes for their future. But the apparent calm waters of the East were soon disturbed on account of the rivalry and jealousy of the Great Powers, which were once again engulfed in another European conflict known as the Crimean War.

The Causes of the Crimean War

(1) **British suspicion of Russian designs.** The mutual understanding reached between Great Britain and Russia in 1841

THE CRIMEAN WAR

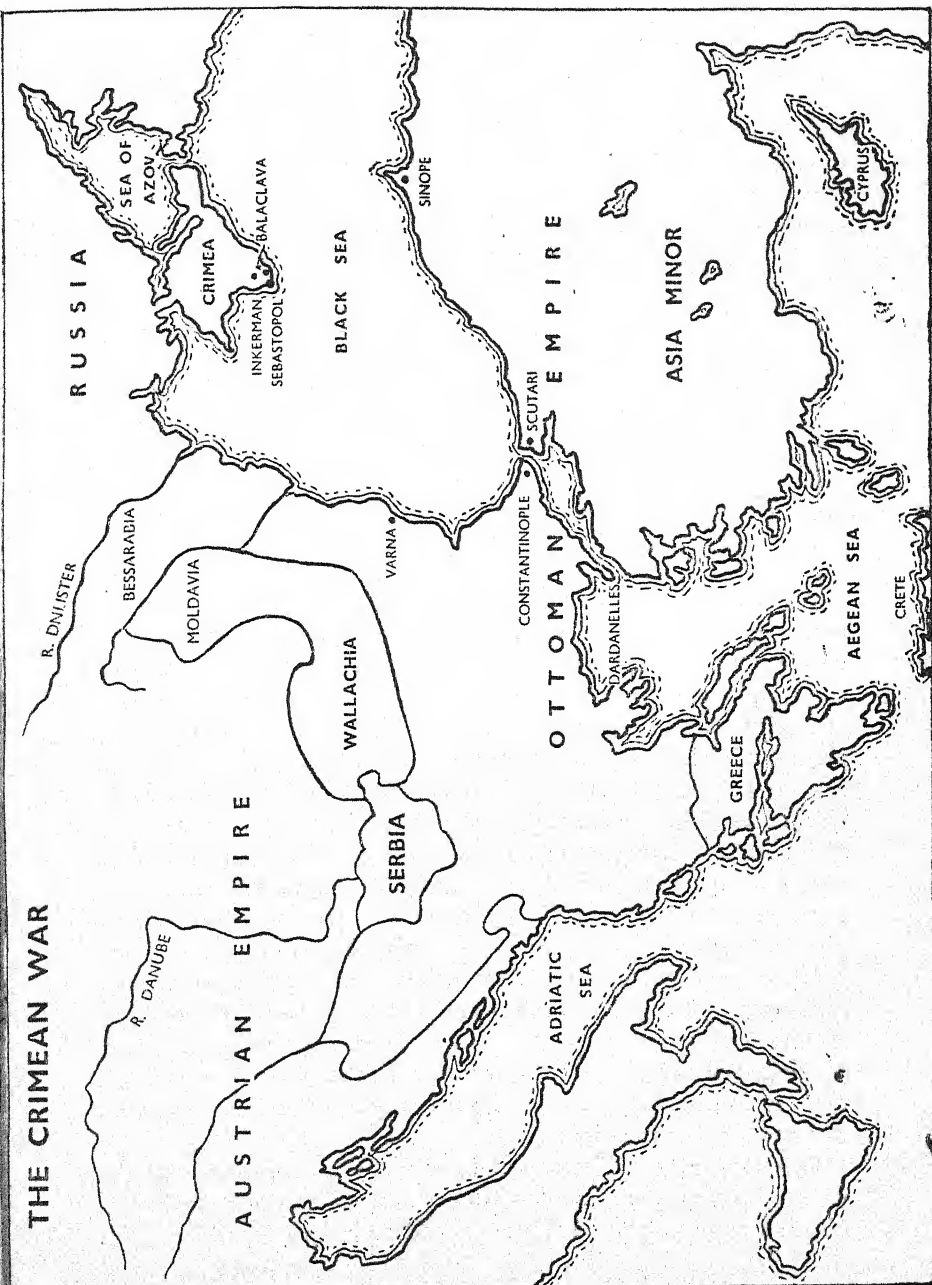


Fig. 10

by the Treaty of London did not last for long in spite of the earnest efforts of Tsar Nicholas I, who had shown his eagerness to come to terms with Great Britain, by voluntarily withdrawing the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi and by his readiness to co-operate with Great Britain in the solution of the Eastern Question. While on a visit to Great Britain in the summer of 1844, he suggested to the British government that the two countries should come to a permanent understanding on the matter of the future of the Ottoman Empire on the basis of the following terms:

- (a) Turkey should be maintained in its present form and no further demands should be made on the Sultan.
- (b) If there was a conflict between the Sultan and any Power, the dispute should be referred to an international conference.
- (c) The Sultan should be urged to adopt a conciliatory and liberal attitude towards his Christian subjects.
- (d) If an unforeseen crisis developed, Russia and Great Britain should act jointly.

The Tsar was further confident that as long as Aberdeen was in power in Great Britain, there would be no war between her and Russia. But unfortunately even the friendly British government was not prepared to accept the Tsar's proposals, for a large majority of Englishmen suffered from Russo-phobia and were afraid of her expansionist designs. According to them the real mind of Russia was revealed by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. Moreover having enjoyed a liberal democratic government in their own country, they had an inherent distrust of Russia, which to them was "the corner stone of despotism in the East". Great Britain, consequently, viewed every action of Russia in the Near East "with ceaseless vigilance, not to say with continuous jealousy".

It was unfortunate that Great Britain did not sympathetically consider the Tsar's proposals. If the two countries could come to an agreement then, other Great Powers would have been compelled to accept it and future wars in the Near East with all their horror, misery and bloodshed might have been avoided. But fate willed otherwise.

Relations between Great Britain and Russia soon drifted to the verge of estrangement, if not bitterness, on account of Palmerston's liberal foreign policy. Palmerston had actively sympathized with

the Revolutionary movement of 1848-49, while Russia had, denounced it and tried to suppress it. In 1850 another blow was struck to the friendly Anglo-Russian relations by the so-called "Pacífico Incident", when Great Britain without consulting France and Russia, the co-guarantors of Greek independence, ordered a blockade of the Greek coast to demand compensation from the Greek government for an outrage to a British subject. Russia took an alarmist view of this high-handed unilateral British action and relations between the two countries became strained.

(2) **Personal Quarrel between Napoleon III and Tsar Nicholas I.** Tsar Nicholas I was antagonistic to Napoleon III and regarded him as a usurper. But when he could not arrive at an understanding with Great Britain over the Eastern Question, his attitude towards France changed. He did not want to alienate Napoleon any further lest the old Anglo-French Entente might be revived and, therefore, he recognized Napoleon as Emperor of France, but hurt his vanity by addressing him only as "mon ami" (my friend) instead of the usual "frere" (my brother). Napoleon III, therefore, wanted to humiliate Russia when a suitable opportunity presented itself.

(3) **The Immediate Cause — the Question of the Custody of the Holy Shrines in Palestine.** A trivial dispute between the Catholics and the Orthodox Christian subjects of the Sultan over the custody of holy shrines in Palestine soon developed into a first class international crisis, on account of the jealousy of the Great Powers. Up to the middle of the 18th century the Latin monks (Catholics) were recognized by the Sultan as the guardians of the shrines. But in the latter half of the century they had "neglected" their duties and the Greek monks had replaced them. A special dispute between the Latin and Greek clergy now centred round the key of the Church of Nativity at Bethlehem. For decades, both the Orthodox and the Catholics had been using the Church. But while the Greeks had the key of the great door, the Catholics had the key of the side door only. The latter now demanded the key of the great door and also claimed the guardianship of other holy places. Both Tsar Nicholas I and Napoleon III saw in this religious dispute an opportunity to further their political ends. Tsar Nicholas wanted to acquire a protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sultan and also desired domination of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Both these objects had been

achieved by Russia in 1833, by the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi. But Palmerston's diplomacy had deprived her of the fruits of her victory and by the Treaty of London (1841), Russia had suffered a diplomatic defeat at the hands of Great Britain. So now in order to rehabilitate his political prestige the Tsar championed the cause of the Orthodox and demanded from the Sultan a categorical rejection of the Catholic claim.

Napoleon III, on the other hand, saw in this dispute a golden opportunity of humbling Russia and of winning the support of the Catholic party at home. So he took up the cause of the Catholics and insisted that the Latin monks (the Catholics) should be "reinstated in the guardianship of the Holy places". He was further supported in this demand by other Catholic countries like Austria, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, etc. The Sultan conceded the French demands, but in doing so invited the wrath of the Tsar who demanded their immediate rejection.

Diplomatic Activity

The Sultan was in a dilemma. This paltry religious dispute was likely to embroil him in an international struggle. So he suggested a mixed commission to enquire into the claims of the rival parties. The French agreed but claimed that no documents later than 1740 should be considered by the commission. This French move was directed to exclude the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji (1774) by which Russia had secured the right to intervene in the internal affairs of Turkey as protector of the Christian subjects of the Porte. Russia strongly protested against this. The Sultan now "played an old diplomatic trick". He wrote a letter to the French stressing upon the concessions made to France and he sent a "firman" to the Greek Patriarch and "dwelt upon the claims denied". The letter satisfied the French but the Russians were furious.

The Menschikoff Mission (March, 1853)

The Tsar consequently sent Prince Menschikoff to the Sultan to demand that the French claims should be rejected forthwith and that the *status quo* should be maintained in respect of the holy places and that the Sultan should acknowledge the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji. The Prince's attitude was rude and insolent. He made it categorically clear to the Porte that Russia would not

permit any concessions to France on the religious question and was even prepared to go to war, should the Porte be coerced by France and the Catholics.

While on the one hand the Tsar threatened the Sultan with dire consequences, on the other, he tried to woo Austria and come to terms with Great Britain. He hoped that better counsels would prevail and that an armed conflict would not be necessary. He was convinced that Austria would not forget the Russian services in quelling the Hungarian revolt in 1849 and that out of sheer gratitude she would support the Russian point of view in this religious dispute. He also believed that the friendly British Government under Lord Aberdeen would not precipitate a crisis. He made a fresh bid in 1853 to come to terms with Great Britain and suggested to her through Sir Hamilton Seymour, the British ambassador at St. Petersburg, that Great Britain and Russia should divide their spheres of influence in the Near East. He proposed that Great Britain should take Egypt and Cyprus or Crete and let him establish principalities in the Balkans under Russian protection. He likened Turkey to a "sick man" who was not likely to survive long and the sooner Russia and Great Britain arrived at an agreement about her future the better. Great Britain did not agree with the Tsar's diagnosis of the situation and did not believe that the dissolution of Turkey was "imminent" and so rejected the proposal by dubbing it as "a piece of calculated hypocrisy". She would not agree to any solution of the Eastern Question without consultation with the other European powers. It was not a matter to be settled between Russia and Great Britain alone, but was an international affair.

The Attitude of Great Britain

Lord Stratford de Radcliffe's machinations. The Franco-Russian dispute in the Near East had two aspects, firstly, the religious, namely, the custody of the Holy Places and, secondly, the political, namely, Russia's claim of protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sultan. England was not interested in the former, but certainly she would not allow Russia to acquire any political rights in the Ottoman Empire. She was deeply interested in maintaining its integrity.

Menschikoff's militant attitude unnerved the Sultan and he turned to the English for guidance and advice. Lord Stratford

de Radcliffe who had been reappointed British ambassador to Turkey in April, 1853, was a shrewd politician and had gained the confidence of the Sultan. He advised moderation to both France and Turkey, so that Russia might have no excuse for war. He also persuaded Menschikoff to separate the affair of the Holy Places from the political question of claiming protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Sultan. Then he induced the Sultan to satisfy Russia on the former point and in April, 1853 an agreement was reached concerning the Holy Places. Once the religious dispute was settled, he advised the Sultan to reject the Russian claim of protectorate. But Menschikoff was not prepared to eat humble pie and accept a diplomatic defeat. The question of the Holy Places was only an excuse to extend Russian political influence in the Ottoman Empire and so in May, 1853 under instructions from the Tsar he withdrew from Constantinople under a threat of war.

Russian mobilization along Moldavia and Wallachia proceeded with speed and in July, 1853 she occupied the two Principalities, allegedly not as an act of war but merely to make sure that Turkey satisfied all her just demands. The situation was grave and, therefore, as a precautionary measure British and French fleets were sent to the Dardanelles. At the same time the Sultan was advised by Great Britain not to resist the Russian invasion by force in order to place Russia in the wrong. All Europe including Prussia and Austria on whom the Tsar depended for sympathy condemned Russian aggression.

The Vienna Note (August, 1853)

Austria still hoped to avert a European war and so under her auspices an international conference of Great Britain, France, Austria and Prussia was summoned in Vienna. It drew up an agreed "note" conceding the Russian rights acquired by the Treaties of Kutchuk Kainardji and Adrianople and requested both the Tsar and the Sultan to sympathetically consider it. The Tsar accepted it, but the Sultan encouraged and emboldened by Lord Stratford rejected it and insisted that he was not prepared to renounce his rights to protect the "rayah" (his Christian subjects). Thus Lord Stratford took upon himself the responsibility of overruling the decision of the Great Powers and to a large extent must share the blame for precipitating the Crimean War.

A war between Russia and Turkey, consequently, seemed inevitable. A last minute effort at mediation was made by Prussia and Austria and another "note" was sent to Turkey on the lines of the "Vienna note" but assuring the independence of Turkey. Great Britain hailed the effort. But the entry of the British and the French fleets in the Dardanelles worsened the situation and Russia regarded this as a declaration of war and nothing came out of this last minute effort.

On 5 October, 1853, the Porte demanded the evacuation of the Principalities by Russia within 15 days and on 23rd October Turkey declared war on Russia.

Russia was still at peace with the Western Powers, though she regarded the presence of the British and French fleets in the Dardanelles a violation of the Treaty of London of 1841 and, consequently, an act of war. The British explanation that it was there "to protect the Sultan against a possible Mussulman rising" was unconvincing.

Turkey alone was no match for Russia and the Turkish fleet was hopelessly defeated at Sinope on 30 November, 1853. The Russian naval victory was followed by a terrible massacre of the Turks which shocked the conscience of the Western Powers.

On 4 January, 1854, the allied fleets sailed into the Black Sea and "invited" the Russians to withdraw to Sebastopol and to evacuate the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia by 30th April.

On Russian refusal, Great Britain and France formally declared war on Russia on 27 March, 1854. Prussia and Austria remained neutral. Prussia abhorred the idea of joining the revolutionary Napoleon III against the Tsar, "the majestic champion of Orthodoxy". Austria played a waiting game for the time being, though her forces were fully mobilized along the Danube.

The Course of the War

Throughout the winter of 1853-54, the Russians and the Turks were poised against each other along the Danube and fought several indecisive battles. In March, 1854, the Russians crossed the Danube and besieged Silistria. The British and French fleets also entered the Black Sea and their armies landed at Varna. The Russians were afraid lest Prussia and Austria might also join the Western Powers. So their diplomacy at this time was directed

at keeping them neutral. But all the four Powers were united in their demand for the evacuation of the Principalities by Russia. So when on 3 June, 1854, Austria sent a note to Russia demanding her immediate withdrawal from the Principalities, she complied with the demand lest Austria should also join her enemies. As soon as Russia withdrew from the Principalities (July) Austria occupied them with the approval of the Sultan.

Now that Russia had evacuated the Principalities it was feared that the alliance of the four Powers might come to an end, particularly when Prussia was really 'benevolent' towards Russia. But the easy Russian defeats and her withdrawal from the Principalities emboldened Great Britain and France to seek a permanent solution of the Eastern Question. Egged on by Napoleon III, who was eager to win glory against Russia, they decided to invade the Crimea. Lord Raglan and Marshal St. Arnaud, the British and French commanders, respectively, were given orders to destroy Sebastopol. The allied armies landed in the Crimea on 14 September, 1854 and won the battle of Alma on the 20th September. If they had continued their assault on Sebastopol, it might have fallen to them without much difficulty, because the defences were still incomplete. But much valuable time was lost in discussion. Lord Raglan who was in favour of an immediate assault was over-ruled by St. Arnaud who was lying mortally ill on board a ship. Canrobert was now virtual commander of the French armies, but he too was not in favour of an immediate assault. So the allies now decided upon a regular siege. Todleben and Korniloff, the Russian commanders, took advantage of this delay and perfected the arrangements for defence and entrenched themselves firmly. The British victories at Balaclava (25th October) and at Inkerman (5th November) made hardly any change in the military situation.

Allied War Aims — The "Four Points" (28 December, 1854)

While the siege of Sebastopol continued England and France submitted a 4-point memorandum to Russia defining their war objects as follows:

- (1) Russian protectorate over Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia should be abolished and the privileges of the people of the Principalities should be guaranteed by the Powers.

- (2) Navigation of the Danube should be free.

(3) Russian preponderance in the Black Sea should cease and the Treaty of 1841 in respect of the Dardanelles and Bosphorus should be suitably revised.

(4) Russia should renounce her claim to protect the Christian subjects of the Sultan.

Austria supported the "Four Points", but Prussia preferred "to wait and see".

The Siege of Sebastopol

Notwithstanding the diplomatic activity, the war went on. But it was thoroughly mismanaged by the respective governments. Both the Russians and the allies suffered heavy casualties. The transport arrangements were hopelessly inadequate. The allied armies were ill-equipped for a winter campaign and the sanitary conditions were appalling. Thousands of soldiers died of frost bite and cholera. The proverbial Russian winter took a heavy toll of the allied armies and "Generals January and February" proved the best Russian allies. The sorry state of affairs roused the British people with indignation against the weak and inefficient Aberdeen government which was swept out of office. Palmerston, whose handling of the Eastern Question had inspired the confidence of the nation in the past, was voted to power in February, 1855. His dynamic personality and challenging foreign policy changed somewhat the complexion of the struggle. Suitable arrangements were made to look after the sick and wounded and a hospital was established at Scutari. The kind and genial nursing of Florence Nightingale, "the Lady with the Lamp", considerably ameliorated the suffering of thousands of soldiers.

The War in 1855

Two more important events took place early in 1855. First, Piedmont joined the Western Powers and declared war on Russia in January and sent a token force of 15,000 soldiers under General Alfonso La Marmora. Her participation in the Crimean War was of far-reaching significance and helped her to a very large extent in realizing her ambition of achieving Italian unity. (For details see Chapter 18.)

Secondly on 2 March, 1855, Tsar Nicholas I died. He was deeply moved by the untold sufferings of the Russian people. He was

heart-broken and disappointed, because his efforts to solve the Eastern Question in co-operation with Great Britain had miserably failed. He was succeeded by Alexander II (1855-1881).

THE VIENNA CONFERENCE (MARCH, 1855)

The fear of Austria joining the Western Powers prompted the new Tsar to accept the invitation of the allied powers to a conference at Vienna on the basis of the "Four Points". There was agreement on the first two points, namely, the abolition of the Russian protectorate over the Principalities and the free navigation of the Danube. But on the issue of revision of the Treaty of 1841 in so far as it related to the Dardanelles and the Black Sea there were serious differences of opinion and the conference broke up. Russia would not agree to the closure of the Straits to her warships. She proposed, as a compromise, that ships of all nations might freely pass through the Straits, but the Western Powers rejected it.

So the war dragged on. Lord Raglan, the British Commander, who had long borne the strain of the war, died in June, 1855 and was succeeded by General Simpson. General Pelissier succeeded Canrobert as commander of the French forces and he infused a new spirit among the French. On 16 August, 1855, the French and Piedmontese armies won the battle of Tchernaya. On 8 September, the French achieved a crowning victory at Malakoff and on the 9th, Sebastopol fell to the allies after a siege lasting 349 days.

The Russians too had their share of victory and on 28 November, General Muraviev captured Kars from the Turks.

Napoleon III felt very pleased and satisfied with the victories of the French armies and proposed to bring the war to a close. Austria supported him. But Palmerston, "being ill-satisfied with the meagre glories of Balaclava, Inkerman and the Radan called for a resolute prosecution of the war". Napoleon reminded the high spirited British Prime Minister that if the "insane" war was to continue, the Western powers should also include the liberation of the Poles in their war aims. "At that devastating threat, unwelcome in London, abhorrent to Berlin and full of evil omen in St. Petersburg, Europe was sharply recalled from foolishness to common sense."

By now the Russians were thoroughly demoralized and when Austria also threatened to join the allies in December 1855, if the war did not come to a speedy end, the Tsar sued for peace on the basis of the "Four Points". A peace conference was summoned at Paris to draft the terms of the Treaty.

THE TREATY OF PARIS (MARCH, 1856)

(1) The Black Sea was neutralized and no warships, either Russian or Turkish, were permitted in it.

(2) The Dardanelles was closed to all warships.

(3) The navigation of the Danube was opened to all nations on equal terms under the control of an international commission.

(4) All conquests were restored. Russia evacuated part of Bessarabia which was ceded to Moldavia. Russia also returned Kars to the Turks. Sebastopol could not be fortified.

(5) Freedom of Moldavia, Wallachia and Serbia under the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan was guaranteed by the Great Powers.

(6) All Powers gave up their right to interfere in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire. Thus Russia renounced the Treaty of Kutchuk Kainardji.

(7) Turkey was admitted to the "Concert of Europe" and the Sultan promised to confirm the privileges of his Christian subjects and to ameliorate their condition.

(8) By an addendum to the Peace Treaty, changes were made in the international maritime law and the Powers renounced their right to seize enemy goods carried by neutral ships.

The Importance of the Treaty

(a) A fresh lease of life was given to the Ottoman Empire, but the hope that the Sultan would set his house in order was belied. "Turkey remained unreformed and irreformable." The Christian subjects of the Sultan were left to his mercy. Fresh trouble, consequently, was bound to break out and disturb the peace in the Near East.

(b) The treaty was a great rebuff to Russia. Her expansionist designs received a set-back, but the war did not seriously weaken her militarily. She continued to exercise her influence in the Balkans.

(c) The neutralization of the Black Sea was short-lived and Russia took the earliest opportunity to break the shackles imposed on her by the Treaty. The Franco-Prussian War of 1870 gave her an opportunity to repudiate this part of the Peace Treaty with the connivance of Prussia.

In two other respects the Crimean War had far-reaching repercussions:

(i) **Gain to Piedmont.** By joining the Western Powers, Piedmont gained their sympathy. Cavour, her astute Prime Minister, raised the question of Italian unification at the Peace Conference in Paris and by his tact and diplomacy succeeded in enlisting the active support of Napoleon III in the coming struggle against Austria.

(ii) **Isolation of Austria.** The Austrian attitude throughout the war was treacherous and selfish. By supporting the war aims of the Western Powers she antagonized Russia which had helped her in quelling the Hungarian revolt in 1849, and which had upheld her rights against Prussia in 1850 at the Olmutz Conference.

The Western Powers were also suspicious of her real intentions, when she occupied the Principalities as soon as they were evacuated by Russia.

Thus her isolation created conditions which were favourable for the achievement of Italian and German unification. If the war had not been fought "the two subsequent decades of the century would not have seen the formation of a united Italy and united Germany and all its consequences". (For details see Chapters 18 and 19.)

Chapter 23

THE EASTERN QUESTION (1856-1914)

SECTION A (1856-1878)

neutrality
BETWEEN THE end of the Crimean War and the Pan-Slavic revolt in 1875, two important events took place in the Balkan peninsula; firstly, the union of Moldavia and Wallachia and, secondly, the repudiation by Russia of the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of Paris (1856).

Moldavia and Wallachia had not been allowed to unite in 1858. But they adopted similar constitutions and elected the same prince as their head. In 1862, through the mediation of the Great Powers, their union was brought about and the united State was called Rumania. In 1866, Prince Charles of Hohenzollern Sigmaringen was placed on the throne.

On the eve of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, in order to ensure Russian neutrality in the coming struggle, Bismarck had suggested to Russia that Prussia would raise no objection if she (Russia) repudiated the Black Sea clause of the Treaty of 1856 and built a naval station in the Black Sea. Accordingly she rearmed Sebastopol. France, after her defeat, could not take any action against Russia and England also acquiesced. This event certainly heartened Russia, but she had yet to recover from the blow of her defeat in the Crimean War.

"The Crimean War registered, as we have seen, a definite setback to the policy of Russia in the Near East." The Peace of Paris (1856) concluded after it, on the one hand, definitely struck a hard blow to Russian ambitions in the Balkans and, on the other, gave a fresh lease of life to Turkey. It also, for a time, left the helpless Christian subjects of the Sultan to his mercy because Russia, the champion of their cause and their protector, had been defeated. The fear of Russian intervention, on their behalf, had

at least kept him on tenterhooks and under duress he had promised social and political reforms to ameliorate their pitiable condition. Now that the Russian danger had temporarily vanished, the Sultan also had no incentive to carry out his promises. The Christian subjects continued to be subjected to religious persecution and were victims of Turkish tyranny, maladministration and fiscal oppression. They were, consequently, seething with discontent.

The Rise of Pan-Slavism

The superficial calm which had reigned in the Middle East for about two decades, after the Treaty of Paris (1856), was shattered by a new wave of nationalism called Pan-Slavism which aimed at the emancipation of the Slav subjects of the Sultan and the establishment of a Slav national State, independent of the Porte. The causes of the new national wave were two-fold. Firstly, the Slavs felt terribly frustrated at the Sultan's obduracy and indifference to reforms and they therefore wanted to throw off his yoke. Secondly, they were heartened by the success of the national resurgence in Italy and Germany. If the Italians and Germans could unite and achieve national independent States, why could not the Slavs? Hence the wave of Pan-Slavism swept the entire peninsula. The Slavs naturally looked upon their kinsmen, the Russians, for help and guidance in their struggle against the Turks.

The Revolt in the Balkans

The Slav revolt against Turkish authority broke out in the summer of 1875 in Herzegovina and Bosnia where the fiscal conditions were intolerable and where the peasantry was terribly oppressed by the feudal landlords. The Turkish masters tried to quell the revolt and under the inspiration of the "Young Turks" party led by Midhat Pasha Pan-Slavism was opposed by Pan-Islamism. From the very beginning the struggle was marked by severe brutality on both sides. The initial success of the rebels soon drew the admiration and sympathy and, later, the active support of the Slavs in other Turkish provinces and the rebellion soon spread to Serbia and Montenegro.

The situation in the Balkans was fraught with dangerous potentialities as Russia was getting ready to intervene on behalf

of the rebels. The Great Powers were therefore alarmed at the explosive situation in the Ottoman Empire, which was further worsened by the Sultan's partial repudiation of the foreign debt.

Diplomatic Activity — the Attitude of the Eastern Powers

Austria could not view with equanimity the Slav revolt in the Balkan peninsula. If it succeeded, then it was bound to affect the dual monarchy of Austria and Hungary where there was quite a substantial minority of Slavs. There was therefore a grave danger of the disintegration of the Austrian Empire. Hence, hurried consultations among the Eastern monarchs were held and Count Andrassy, the Austrian Chancellor, was authorized to prepare a "note".

The "Andrassy Note" (30 December, 1875)

The "Note", on the one hand, made an appraisal of the causes of unrest in the Balkan peninsula and on the other suggested remedies to cure it.

The insurrection was mainly due to the failure of the Sultan to redeem his oft-repeated promises of reform and, consequently, the Christians felt frustrated. The "Note" emphasized that the area of insurrection must be localized and that it should not be allowed to spread lest its repercussions be felt in the Austrian Empire itself. The "Note" expressed the anxiety of the Great Powers to maintain peace and suggested the following remedies:

(1) Full recognition should be guaranteed to the Christian religion and religious persecution must cease forthwith.

(2) The system of *farming the taxes* should be abolished.

(3) In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the economic condition of the peasants who were subjected to the worst form of feudal tyranny should be improved by turning them into free proprietors of land.

(4) Direct taxes levied in Bosnia and Herzegovina should be utilized for the local needs of these provinces.

(5) A mixed commission consisting of four Christians and four Muslims should be established to supervise and control the execution of all reforms.

The Andrassy "Note" was formally approved by the English and French governments also and was presented to the Porte on 31 January, 1876.

The Sultan was prepared to accept four of the five points but

rejected the proposal of utilizing the direct taxes for local needs. He sternly reminded Europe that he would not brook any interference with his sovereign powers.

Furthermore, the Sultan was not willing to carry out any reforms as long as the threat of rebellion lasted. The rebels on their part were not prepared to lay down their arms without substantial guarantees. They could not trust the Sultan to carry out any reforms. So the efforts of the Great Powers to control the insurrection failed and the mischief spread further. Montenegro and Bulgaria were getting ready to join the rebels.

The Revolt in Bulgaria (7 May, 1876)

Bulgaria was already seething with discontent and the rebels murdered a few Turkish officials. The Turks in turn massacred the Christians and "reprisals begat reprisals" till on 7 May, some fanatic Turks murdered the French and German Consuls in Salonika. This roused the Bulgarians and the insurrection spread far and wide.

The Berlin Memorandum (11 May, 1876) and British Opposition

The three Emperors (of Russia, Austria and Germany) were already in Conference in Berlin when the news of the Bulgarian rising reached them. They were eager to maintain peace. Hence, the Austrian, Russian and German Chancellors hurriedly prepared a memorandum for submission to the Porte. It differed from the Andrassy "Note" in as much as it "proposed guarantees for the execution of the promised reforms".

(1) An immediate armistice for two months should be imposed on both sides and the combined fleets should enforce it.

(2) The Sultan should forthwith carry out the reforms promised by him.

(3) The insurgents should remain in arms until the reforms had been carried out.

(4) If there was no settlement between the Sultan and the rebels within two months, the Great Powers reserved the right to take further action.

France and Italy supported the memorandum, but England rejected it on the ground that it was unduly peremptory. She held that there was no possibility of its achieving peace in the peninsula because the insurgents would not lay down their arms

knowing fully well that if they held out, the Great Powers would intervene in their behalf. Moreover, England resented that she was not consulted by the three Eastern monarchs in drafting the memorandum. She made it clear that she would not be a party to it and took unilateral action and ordered her fleet to enter Besika Bay. This marked the end of the joint action in the Near East and the memorandum was dropped. Disraeli who was Prime Minister of England was bitterly criticized for breaking the "Concert of Europe".

*Reaction in Turkey to the threatened Intervention by the Great Powers—
The Deposition of the Sultan.*

The "Young Turks" party, which stood for Pan-Islamism, felt that the Sultan Abdul Aziz was too feeble to deal with the threat of the Great Powers. Therefore there was a minor rebellion in Constantinople by the students and soldiers, and the Sultan was deposed on 30 May, 1876. Four days later he was either murdered or he committed suicide. His nephew Murad V, an imbecile, succeeded him, but he was also deposed in August. Thereupon Sultan Abdul Hamid II (1876-1909), his brother, was elevated to the throne.

Declaration of War by Serbia and Montenegro

The internal troubles of the Ottoman Empire further encouraged the Christian subjects to strengthen their struggle against the Turks. Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria were already in revolt. The situation was further complicated when on 30 June, 1876, Serbia also declared war on the Porte. Montenegro followed her a couple of days later.

The Turkish armies inspired by the Pan-Islam movement struck severe blows against the Serbs and Montenegrins, who could not get on well together. The Serbian revolt was in danger of utter collapse if foreign aid did not arrive in time. Russia was no doubt eager to intervene—Russian volunteers and officers were already fighting for the Serbs—but she was not certain of the Austrian attitude. Therefore, Tsar Alexander II and Emperor Francis Joseph met at Reichstadt in July, 1876 and arrived at an agreement by which if war broke out between Russia and Turkey, Austria would be allowed to occupy temporarily Bosnia and Herzegovina as the price for her neutrality.

Meanwhile the Serbs were badly crushed by the Turks and terrible atrocities were committed in Bulgaria as well. The conscience of the Christian world was again roused. In Great Britain, Gladstone bitterly assailed the government of Disraeli for its apathetic attitude and public opinion compelled the government to intervene. Under pressure from Great Britain, Prince Milan of Serbia asked for mediation of the Great Powers in August, 1876. Great Britain also urged the Sultan to come to terms with Serbia and in September, 1876 Lord Derby, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, proposed to the Powers the following solution of the Balkan troubles.

British Proposals

- (1) *Status quo* should be maintained in Serbia and Montenegro.
- (2) Bosnia, Herzegovina and Bulgaria should be granted local autonomy.
- (3) The Sultan should carry out far-reaching reforms to satisfy his Christian subjects.

On the basis of these proposals a treaty should be signed between the Porte and the Great Powers. The British proposals were generally approved by the other Great Powers. Russia added that if the Porte rejected the proposals the allied fleet should sail into the Bosphorus and Bosnia should be occupied by Austria and Bulgaria by Russia.

But Turkey, in view of her success against the rebels, was in no mood to entertain any allied intervention and rejected the British proposals. Therefore Britain suggested an armistice for at least a month and proposed a conference at Constantinople to solve the Balkan tangle. The Porte only played for time and suggested an armistice of six months to avoid winter warfare. He also made vague promises of reform. All the Great Powers except Russia reacted favourably to the Turkish offer. But passions in Russia were running high and she was not prepared to grant a six month's armistice. Therefore, in October, Russia sent General Ignatieff as a special envoy to Constantinople and on 30 October he presented an ultimatum to Turkey demanding an armistice with Serbia within 48 hours. The Russian threat had the desired effect and the Sultan who had so far remained stubborn yielded on 2 November. Serbia was saved from further butchery.

The Conference at Constantinople (23 December, 1876)

The British proposal for a conference at Constantinople was approved by all Powers and under the chairmanship of Savfit Pasha its first session was held on 23 December. The Great Powers supported the British proposals of September and demanded an international commission to supervise their implementation. The Porte had meanwhile promulgated a new constitution, establishing a bicameral legislature with a responsible government for the whole of the Ottoman Empire; he also granted freedom of worship and the press. But he would not allow an international commission to watch its execution. The dilatory tactics of the Sultan had by now exhausted the patience of Russia. General Ignatieff withdrew from the conference which broke up on 21 January, 1877. England made a last minute effort to avert the war and persuaded the Sultan to make peace with Serbia in February, 1877. But relations between Russia and Turkey did not improve.

Russo-Turkish War (24 April, 1877)

Russian armies were already mobilized along the Pruth and war between Turkey and Russia now seemed certain. Russia signed a treaty of alliance with Rumania on 16 April allowing her forces to march through Rumanian territory. On 24 April, after securing Austrian neutrality on the basis of the Reichstadt agreement, she declared war on Turkey.

Russian armies supported by the Rumanians crossed the Danube, but their advance was checked at Plevna in July by Osman Pasha. A long siege of the town followed and it fell to the Russians only on 10 December! On the 14th, the Serbians re-entered the war and defeated the Turks at Prisrend. The Russians continued their advance and on 5 January, 1878 occupied Sofia and on the 20th captured Adrianople. Kars in the Caucasus had already fallen to the Russians in November. The Turks were now faced with utter defeat and sued for peace. On 31 January, 1878, by the Convention of Adrianople, the terms of an armistice between Russia and Turkey were agreed upon. The most important stipulation was that the Russian rights in the Dardanelles and Bosphorus were to be recognized. This alarmed England and she demanded an assurance from the Tsar that no change would be made unilaterally by Russia in the treaties of 1856 and

1871. Austria too regarded the terms of the armistice very inimical to her interests and both Austria and England demanded a European conference to settle the Balkan issue. The Balkan situation was further complicated by the Greek invasion of Thessaly on 2 February. But the Great Powers unitedly protested and threatened to invade Greece. So Greece yielded.

The Treaty of San Stefano (3 March, 1878)

On the basis of the Convention of Adrianople, Russia dictated the following terms of peace to Turkey:

(1) Montenegro with the addition of some strips of Bosnia and the port of Antivari was to be recognized as an independent State.

(2) The independence of Serbia was also granted. She was to acquire the districts of Nish and Mitrovitza.

(3) Immediate reforms, to be executed under the control of Russia and Austria, were to be introduced in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(4) The Danubian fortresses were to be demolished.

(5) Reforms were to be introduced in Armenia.

(6) In lieu of the indemnity which Russia claimed she was to acquire Batoum, Kars and part of Bessarabia which was to be exchanged with Rumania for a strip of Dobrudja. Rumanian independence was also recognized by the Porte.

(7) Greater Bulgaria was to be constituted as an autonomous tributary State extending from the Danube to the Aegean.

Importance of the Treaty. (a) It marked the end of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

(b) It was a great Russian victory and her influence in the Balkans was restored.

(c) The creation of Greater Bulgaria roused the jealousy of the Balkan States, particularly of Serbia and Greece.

The Attitude of Great Britain and the other Powers to the Treaty. While the Russo-Turkish war was being fought, Russia had assured Great Britain that the Straits and Constantinople would not be occupied by her. England had warned the Tsar that no treaty between Russia and Turkey would be valid without the approval and consent of the Powers who were signatories to the Treaties of 1856 and 1871. In the light of this warning and assurance both England and Austria regarded the terms of the

Treaty of San Stefano as menacing. England's communications with the East and her interests in Egypt and the Suez were in danger and the Austrian ambition of expansion in the Balkans was thwarted. In both countries there was a demand for a European Congress to settle the Balkan issue and preparations for war were made. England denounced the treaty and ordered her fleet to proceed to the Dardanelles, ostensibly to protect British subjects. Disraeli, the British Prime Minister, ordered 7,000 Indian troops to embark for Malta. Russia in retaliation threatened to occupy Constantinople. The situation was very alarming, but on the entreaty of the Sultan, the British fleet withdrew and the tension relaxed. Austria, meanwhile, proposed an international Congress. England assented to it but demanded a complete review of the Treaty of San Stefano. Russia objected to this at first. She thought she could rely on the support of Bismarck whom she had helped in 1864, 1866 and 1871 (see Chapter 19). But Germany was not prepared to alienate Austria and therefore Bismarck pleaded his inability to "contain" Austria. The Tsar who had no allies now had no alternative but to accept the proposal for a European Congress.

The Congress of Berlin (13 July, 1878)

Bismarck, who presided over the Congress, promised to play the part of an "honest broker". But the Congress was dominated by Disraeli, the British Prime Minister. The terms of the Treaty of San Stefano were considerably modified as under:

- (1) Russia got Bessarabia, Batoum, Ardahan and Kars.
- (2) Greater Bulgaria of San Stefano was split into three parts:
 - (a) Bulgaria proper which now extended from the Danube to the north of the Balkan mountains was to be autonomous under the Sultan's suzerainty.
 - (b) Southern Bulgaria — south of the Balkan mountains — now called Eastern Roumelia, was to have a Governor and a special organization under the Sultan's government.
 - (c) Macedonia was given back to the Sultan who promised to carry out certain reforms there.
- (3) Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro gained more territories and were recognized as independent sovereign States.

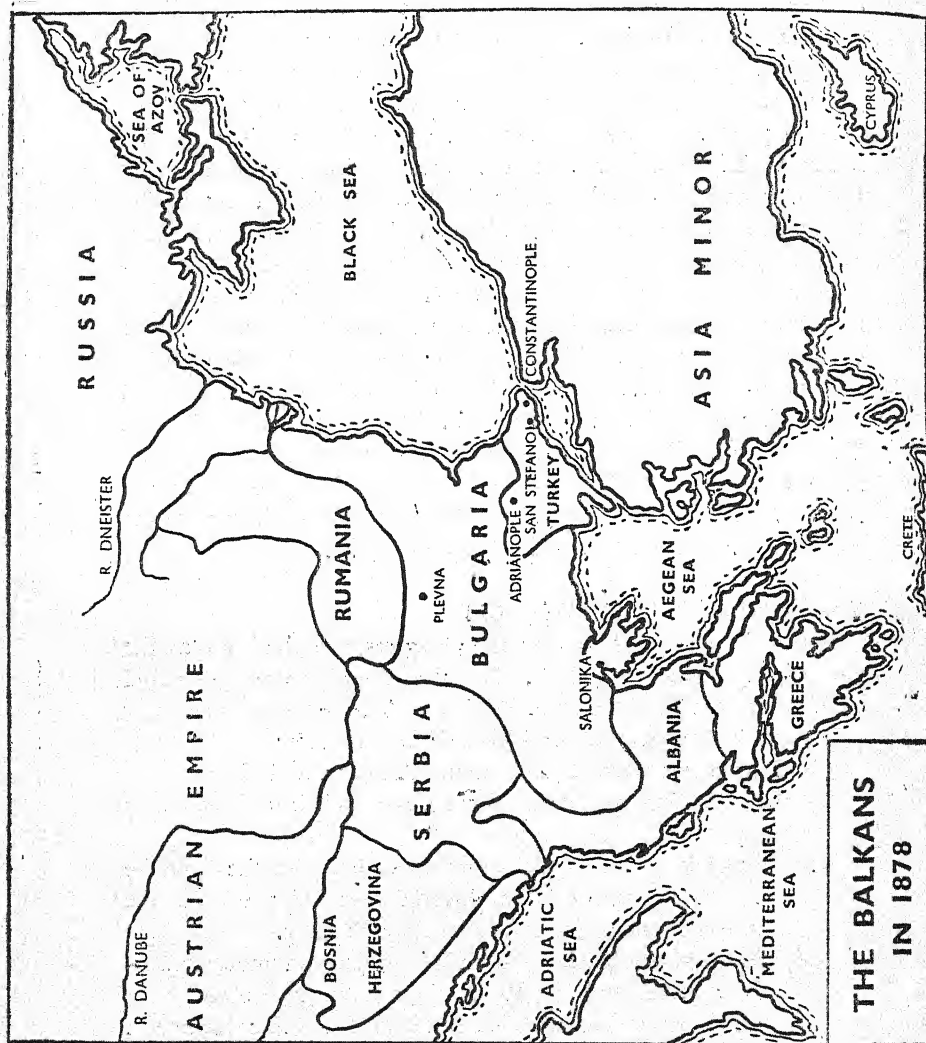


Fig. 11

(4) Austria was allowed to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina to "preserve order" there. She was further allowed to garrison the Sanjak of Novi Bazar, a strip of land between Serbia and Montenegro.

By a separate agreement with the Porte, England occupied Cyprus under the Cyprus Convention on 4 June, as long as Russia kept Batoum and Kars.

To satisfy the objections of France and Italy they were allowed to occupy Tunis and Tripoli respectively. Germany asked for nothing and consequently earned the friendship and gratitude of Turkey and henceforth her influence in Turkey became dominant.

Significance of the Treaty

(a) **Russian Designs in the Balkans Checked.** The Treaty of Berlin was a landmark in the history of the Eastern Question. It was a great triumph of British diplomacy and Russia was once again deprived of her fruits of victory. England and the Great Powers made it clear to Russia that she would not be allowed to have a free hand in the Near East and that the Balkan issue was not her "domestic concern" but a "European" affair. Disraeli, who was now Lord Beaconsfield, played the dominant role in upsetting the Treaty of San Stefano. He characterized the Treaty as "peace with honour", thereby meaning that a war with Russia was averted and the British interests in the Near East were maintained. He saved Macedonia from becoming part of Greater Bulgaria and for this both Serbia and Greece were thankful to him.

(b) **Bulgaria Reduced in Size.** The division of Greater Bulgaria into a smaller Bulgaria, Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia struck a severe blow to Russian ambitions in the Balkans. Greater Bulgaria, if allowed to stay, would have constituted the biggest State in the Balkans and would have been a source of danger to Serbia and Greece. She would have also proved a valuable ally to Russia in furthering her ambitions, since she would have owed her creation to her.

(c) **Slavs Disappointed — Set-back to Serbian Ambitions.** The Slavs were terribly disappointed with the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria. Serbia had hoped to annex them. Consequently, her relations with Austria became very strained and finally the murder of Archduke Ferdinand by the

Slavs in 1914 in Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, precipitated the First World War.

(d) **Rumania Dissatisfied.** Rumania too was grossly dissatisfied with the cession of Bessarabia to Russia in exchange for Dobrudja.

(e) The Ottoman Empire in Europe was saved from complete disintegration. "Lord Beaconsfield snatched from the brink of disruption a remnant of the Ottoman Empire."

(f) The Sultan's promise of reforms in Macedonia remained unfulfilled and consequently the Macedonians caused a good deal of trouble.

SECTION B (1878 TO 1914)

The year 1881 was significant for two events in the history of the Balkan people. Firstly, the Porte yielded to the Greek demand for the cession of Thessaly and a part of Epirus. Secondly, the prince of Rumania assumed the title of king as Carol I.

The Union of Two Bulgarias (1885)

The division of Bulgaria at the Congress of Berlin was short-lived. There was a keen desire and strong agitation in Eastern Roumelia for a union with Bulgaria.

Alexander of Battenberg (1879-86), a nephew of the Tsar, was elected prince of Bulgaria in 1879. He granted a liberal constitution which was not liked by the Russians. So on account of Russian hostility he changed the constitution in 1881 and made it more autocratic. Russian officials dominated the administration. The Bulgar nationalists resented Russian interference in the internal affairs of Bulgaria and in 1883, under their pressure, he was forced to restore the old constitution of 1879. This earned him the displeasure of the Russians. In 1885 the Bulgars in Eastern Roumelia revolted against their Turkish masters and expelled Gamil Pasha, the governor. They proclaimed their union with Bulgaria. Alexander was prevailed upon by Stephen Stambuloff, a nationalist leader and president of the National Assembly or "Sobranje", to support the movement for union. The Russians protested against it. But in April, 1886, the Sultan was forced by the Bulgars to recognize the union and to appoint Alexander as governor of Eastern Roumelia for five years. The

Great Powers except Russia consented to the union. The Russian hostility, however, continued and in August, 1886, Alexander was kidnapped by Russian officers. But Stephen Stambuloff who headed the provisional government arrested the Russian conspirators and succeeded in liberating Alexander. By now Alexander was thoroughly disgusted with the Russian attitude towards him and so he abdicated in September. The Bulgars, thereupon, offered the crown to Prince Waldemar of Denmark, but he declined the offer. In July, 1887 the Bulgarian National Assembly elected Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-coburg-Gotha as their prince. He accepted the offer. Russia vigorously protested and other Great Powers too refused to recognize him. Yet he maintained himself in power with the help and support of the nationalist Bulgars. The union of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia was achieved notwithstanding the opposition of the Great Powers.

Serbo-Bulgarian War (November 14, 1885). Trouble broke out in another sector of the Balkans. Without any provocation, Serbia declared war on Bulgaria but through the intervention of Austria, hostilities were short-lived and both Serbia and Bulgaria were saved from further bloodshed.

THE CRETAN QUESTION

The Cretan Question next claimed the attention of the Powers. Crete had been in revolt since 1840 when it was handed over to the Porte. The Cretans demanded union with Greece which they ultimately achieved in the following stages:

(1) In 1896, a Civil War between the Christian and Muslim subjects of the Porte broke out. It was feared that it might involve Greece and Turkey in an armed conflict. So, through the mediation of the Great Powers, the strife was suppressed and the Sultan was persuaded to grant reforms to Crete.

(2) In 1897, revolt again broke out at Canea and Greek volunteers poured into Crete. The Great Powers again intervened and compelled the rebels to stop fighting.

(3) **Greco-Turkish War, or 30 days' War (17 April to 20 May, 1897).** The demand for the annexation of Crete continued to mount in Greece. Under popular pressure, King George of Greece was forced to declare war on Turkey. The Turkish armies which had been trained by German generals

inflicted defeats on the Greeks at Larissa and Domokos. Athens itself was threatened. Greece, therefore, was forced by the Great Powers to sue for peace. She had to cede a strip of Thessaly to the Porte. A heavy war indemnity was imposed on her. Her foreign finances too were to be controlled by an International Commission.

(4) In 1899, a liberal constitution was granted to Crete and under the able leadership of Eleutherios Venizelos, it worked very satisfactorily. Venizelos espoused the cause of Crete's union with Greece.

(5) In 1905, Crete, led by Venizelos, proclaimed her union with Greece.

(6) In 1910 it was formally recognized by the Great Powers.

THE BALKAN QUESTION (1889 TO 1914)

Towards the close of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century the Balkan problem was further complicated by the following factors:

(1) **German Military and Economic Interests in the Ottoman Empire.** At the Congress of Berlin, Bismarck had acted as an "honest broker" and Germany had made no demands on Turkey. Hence the Porte was deeply impressed by the Germans. The British insistence on the introduction of reforms in Macedonia drove Turkey still closer to Germany. Consequently, a period of close diplomatic and economic co-operation began between Germany and Turkey. Kaiser William II's visit to Turkey in 1889 and 1898-99 further strengthened the ties of friendship between Germany and Turkey. German-Turkish collaboration was two-fold. German generals were sent to train Turkish armies and German capital began to pour into Turkey for industrial development. The German Company of Anatolian Railways constructed a network of railways in the Ottoman Empire and got the contract for the construction of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway. This project would extend German influence right up to the Persian Gulf and so constituted a grave threat to the British interests there and consequently roused British hostility.

(2) **National Resurgence in Turkey—The Turkish Revolution (1908).** The "Young Turks", a progressive party

which had been originally formed in 1891 in Geneva, was now a potent factor in Turkish politics. Supported by the army, it carried out a successful revolution in 1908 and forced the Sultan Abdul Hamid to grant a democratic constitution, guaranteeing religious freedom and equality. The Sultan who could not reconcile himself to the loss of his autocratic power staged a counter-revolution against the "Young Turks", but failed. He was deposed and his brother Mohammed V (1909-15) was placed on the throne.

It was feared by the Great Powers that a regenerated Turkey under the inspiration of the progressive "Young Turks" might try to reconquer the erstwhile Turkish provinces. Therefore, to forestall them, Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina and Bulgaria renounced Turkish suzerainty and proclaimed her complete independence (1908).

(3) **Serbo-Austrian Rivalry — Austro-Hungarian Annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1908).** Austria was terribly antagonistic to Pan-Slavism because a considerable number of Slavs lived in her own Empire. If Serbia, the champion of Slav unity, became strong there was a grave danger of the disintegration of her own solidarity. Therefore, her policy was to suppress Serbia and to keep her weak. Baron Von Aehrenthal, Austrian Foreign Minister from 1906 to 1912, assiduously worked for this end.

Serbia in 1903 murdered King Alexander, a descendant of Prince Milan and placed instead, King Peter, a descendant of Karageorge on the throne. Under him the Serbian hostility towards Austria mounted. The Austrians in order to crush the Serbs tried to ruin Serbian trade in 1905-06 by the so-called "Pig War", a tariff conflict which embittered relations between them. The Serbo-Austrian relations further deteriorated on account of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in 1908.

By the Congress of Berlin, Austria had been allowed to administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, two predominantly Slav provinces of the Porte. In 1908 for fear of Turkish resurgence she formally annexed them in violation of the Treaty of Berlin. This event was a great blow to Serbian national aspirations. Serbia had been looking forward to their union with her. Supported by Russia she now protested against Austrian annexation. Passions

on both sides rose very high and there were clamours for war. An armed conflict seemed imminent, but Germany threatened to support Austria, her ally, in the event of a war. Russia and Serbia felt bitterly resentful and had to eat humble pie and yielded to the German "mailed fist". Turkey was paid compensation by Austria and she was quite satisfied. Serbia could not reconcile herself to the Austrian banditry and continued to agitate against her. Their mutual hostility provided the immediate cause for a world conflagration in 1914, when Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austrian throne, was murdered in Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, by Slavs who were Austrian subjects.

(4) **The Balkan League (1912).** The idea of establishing a league among the Christian nations of the Balkans had been mooted in the past, but on account of their political rivalries it had so far been beyond the pale of realization. However, in 1912 it was within the realm of practical politics, because Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece were equally anxious about the future of Macedonia. Thanks to the diplomacy of Lord Beaconsfield at the Congress of Berlin, Macedonia, which had been ceded to Greater Bulgaria by the Treaty of San Stefano, was taken away from her and was handed back to the Porte. Macedonia had a mixed population of Bulgars, Serbs and Greeks and its incorporation in Greater Bulgaria would have been deeply resented by them. Now each State arrived at a common understanding about its partition. Consequently, under the inspiration of Venizelos, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro formed a Balkan League in 1912 against Turkey with the object of conquering and partitioning Macedonia.

The First Balkan War (1912-13)

Causes. (1) The members of the Balkan League were roused by Turkish misrule in Macedonia and wanted to save their brethren from Turkish tyranny. Each desired to annex the share agreed upon by the members.

(2) The situation in Macedonia was further complicated by a revolt in Albania, where the rebels claimed Monastir and Uskub. Such a demand was in direct opposition to the interests of Serbia and Greece in Macedonia.

Therefore, preparations for war began on both sides.

The Balkan situation was once again explosive and in spite of

the moderation advised by the Great Powers, the League declared war on Turkey.

The Bulgars defeated the Turks at Kirk Kilisse and Lule Burgas. The Serbs and Greeks overran Macedonia. The former captured Novi Bazar, Pristina, Uskub (the ancient capital of the Serbs), Monastir and Ochrida. The Greeks captured Salonika. The Bulgars also reached it, but the Greeks made it clear to them that they would not permit joint control. The Greeks also conquered several small islands and shelled the port of Valona.

This event provoked a protest from Italy and Austria who would not allow Greece or Serbia to have any port on the Adriatic. Their interests in the Balkans clashed with those of Serbia and Greece. England and France also supported them and an armistice was offered by the Great Powers in December, 1912.

The London Conference (1913)

While negotiations were going on in London on the basis of the armistice, Enver Bey, a leader of the Young Turks Party, staged a *coup d'etat* in January and the Conference broke up. Fighting was renewed and Montenegro captured Scutari. But the Powers, especially Austria, would not allow her to retain it. The Greeks captured Janina on 6 March and on the 26th Adrianople fell to the Bulgars and Serbs. Turkish humiliation and defeat were complete and she agreed to the terms of the Treaty of London.

Treaty of London (30 May, 1913)

(1) Turkey ceded almost all her European territory. She was left with Constantinople and a small area round it.

(2) Macedonia was partitioned among Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece.

(3) Montenegro was not allowed to retain Scutari.

(4) A new State of Albania was formed.

The Treaty marked the liquidation of almost the whole of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

The Second Balkan War (1913)

The victors, particularly Bulgaria, felt very sore over the distribution of the spoils of war.

(a) As a result of the Treaty of London, Serbia acquired Uskub and Monastir, but lost her gains in Albania. She now demanded

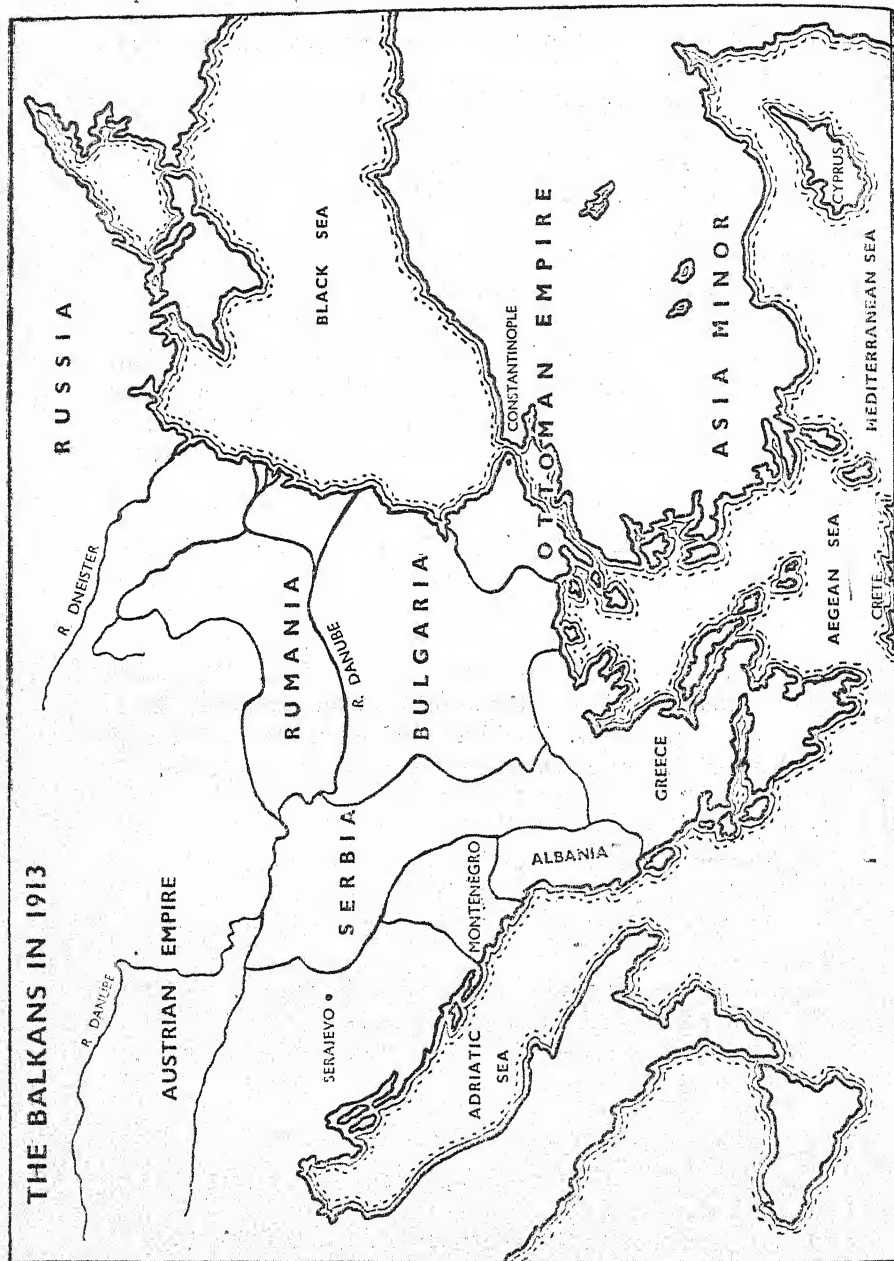


Fig. 12

compensation from Bulgaria for the loss of her territory in Albania and claimed a port on the Aegean.

(b) Both Greece and Bulgaria were dissatisfied over the partition of Macedonia.

Consequently, relations between Bulgaria on the one side and Serbia, Greece and Rumania, on the other deteriorated. An offensive and defensive alliance between Greece and Serbia for 10 years was made against Bulgaria. And on 29 June the war of partition broke out.

Bulgaria attacked Serbia, but was repulsed. Rumania and Turkey also declared war on Bulgaria. Surrounded by enemies on all sides she sued for peace.

The Treaty of Bucharest (10 August, 1913)

(1) Rumania got a large strip of Dobrudja including the fortress of Silistria.

(2) Serbia got central Macedonia including Ochrida, Monastir and the eastern half of Novi Bazar.

(3) Greece acquired southern Macedonia, Salonika and Epirus.

(4) Montenegro got the western half of Novi Bazar.

War between Turkey and Bulgaria dragged on till September and as a result, Turkey recovered Adrianople, Demolica and Kirk Kilisse.

Results of the Balkan Wars

(a) Greece acquired large territories.

(b) Montenegro resented the loss of Scutari.

(c) Serbia emerged as a powerful State with enlarged territories and enhanced prestige. But she was still land-locked. The hostility of Austria had deprived her of a port on the Adriatic and so the relations between her and Austria continued to grow from bad to worse. Hostile propaganda continued in both the States. The ill-will between the two constituted a grave danger to the peace of Europe and in 1914 the murder of the Austrian Archduke in Serajevo precipitated a European War.

Chapter 24

EUROPEAN EXPANSION ABROAD

COLUMBUS'S DISCOVERY of the New World (1492) and Vasco da Gama's discovery of the sea route to India (1498) were two momentous events, pregnant with vast potentialities and precursors of European expansion abroad. In the New World there were large countries rich in forests and minerals but yet undeveloped. Their interior had yet to be explored and there were vast possibilities of economic exploitation and development. The climate too was most suitable for European settlers and since the population was sparse, there was plenty of room for expansion.

The East, particularly India and China with their old civilizations and glorious past, was politically, economically and socially far more advanced than the New World. If the European nations could get permission to trade with them and establish factories they would enrich themselves in no time.

Spain and Portugal were the first European countries to exploit these discoveries. Their commerce with the New and Old Worlds and subsequent colonization of great areas in the New World made them rich and powerful and the envy of other European countries. By the middle of the 17th century other maritime Powers like the Dutch and the English also claimed their share of overseas trade. France too entered the race a little later. Foreign commercial companies were floated and with the aid of their respective governments trading stations were acquired in America and India. Gradually Holland, England and France acquired several colonies abroad and established a few White Settlements. The insatiable desire to have the monopoly of world trade and the right to conquer more colonies roused acute and bitter rivalry among European nations and ultimately led to a series of wars. We have already discussed how the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-13), the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-48) and the Seven Years'

War (1756-63) affected the future of European Powers in respect of their ambition to acquire colonies. But for this, supremacy at sea was the key to the augmentation of colonies and the acquisition of world trade. As a result of her success in the wars amongst European Powers in the 18th century, England emerged as the mistress of the seas. From 1756-1775 her overseas trade enriched her beyond all expectations. But she received a great setback when in 1775 her 13 American colonies united together and revolted against her and finally achieved their independence. They formed the nucleus of the United States of America which by the first quarter of the 19th century became a powerful State whose voice could not be ignored by European colonial countries. The rise of the U.S.A. gave a severe blow to European ambitions of further colonization in America. President Monroe by his famous Monroe Doctrine of 1823 made it clear to the Colonial Powers that the United States would not allow any further colonization in America or interference by European countries in American internal affairs.

Their ambitions now checked and thwarted by the Monroe Doctrine, the Colonial Powers turned to Asia and Africa for further expansion. Napoleon III's misconceived adventure in Mexico in 1863 was the last attempt by a European Power to challenge the Monroe Doctrine.

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION AND ITS EFFECT ON COLONIZATION

In the 19th century Imperialism was a direct outcome of economic necessity. The exigencies of the Industrial Revolution in Europe demanded more and more raw material, more markets for the manufactured goods and more food for the people. The Colonies could supply all these in abundance. Hence there was a further race for colonization in Asia and Africa.

A. EUROPEAN EXPANSION IN ASIA

I. *British Expansion (India, China and South-east Asia)*

By the end of the 17th century, Portugal, Holland, England and France possessed a few settlements and factories in Asia. India was the bone of contention between England and France

but as a result of the three Carnatic Wars fought from 1746 to 1761, the English East India Company had established her superiority in India. In another hundred years, she had acquired complete mastery of the entire Indian peninsula. In 1858, after the Great Revolt of 1857 had been successfully suppressed, the reins of the Government of India passed into the hands of the British Crown and Parliament from the East India Company which had ruled India so far.

Other Asian countries too drew the attention of the English. As a result of the naval blockade of the River Canton in 1840, trade with China was opened to England and to other European countries. Further incursions followed and as a result of the Treaty of Nanking (August, 1842) which ended a war between England and China, Hong Kong was acquired in 1843 by the English. The same year Canton, Amoy and Shanghai were thrown open to Western trade. Great Britain's further acquisitions in Asia included Aden (1839), Burma (1886), Singapore and the Federated Malay States (1874, 1909). In addition to these she had her sphere of influence in the Persian Gulf.

II. *French Expansion (China, Indo-China and Cambodia)*

France already possessed Pondicherry, Mahe and Chandranagore in India. She now extended her sphere of influence in China and South-east Asia. In 1844, she acquired the right to intervene on behalf of the Christian people in China and in 1858 she virtually got a protectorate over the Chinese Catholic converts.

In 1862, she completed the conquest of Indo-China and in 1867, she annexed Cambodia and conquered Annam. The Chinese, who claimed overlordship of these territories, challenged France in 1885 but were defeated.

III. *Russian Expansion (Central Asia, Siberia and North China)*

Russian ambitions and designs in the Balkans had been thwarted by the European Powers at the Congress of Berlin in 1878. Finding her expansion closed in the west and south-west, she turned to the east and south-east. She had already conquered the province of Kars in 1878, and she now annexed Chinese Turkestan in 1880. Her expansion towards the south-east, particularly towards Afghanistan, roused British hostility. The Russian bear must be "contained" far away from the British Empire lest it might prove

a danger to her. This fear of Russian expansion or "Russophobia" caused the Second Afghan War (1878-81). Russian designs were checked. Relations between Russia and England again became tense in 1885 when the Russians advanced to Panjdeh in Central Asia. The British again threatened to go to war. Luckily the Tsar withdrew and the Panjdeh incident was closed. By 1892, the Tsar was convinced that any attempt at expansion in Central Asia would be strongly resisted by the British who were solicitous about the safety of their Indian Empire. Henceforth Russia focussed her attention on expansion in the East. This change in Russian attitude was marked by better relations between her and England.

Russia also colonized Siberia and converted it into a convict settlement. In 1860 she annexed the Amur province and reached Vladivostok. Her expansionist designs continued and with the help of French finance she constructed the Trans-Siberian Railway in 1892. This financial co-operation drew Russia and France closer together.

Struggle with Japan. Next she cast her covetous eyes on Manchuria and Korea which were equally desired by Japan. Relations between her and Japan consequently deteriorated and finally resulted in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904. Japan's victory over Russia was a great event in world history. For the first time an Asian Power defeated conclusively a European Power. The Russian ambitions in Asia were checked, and Japan became a world Power.

B. EXPANSION IN AFRICA — 19TH CENTURY

The race for acquiring colonies in Africa went on side by side with the European expansion in Asia. Africa was regarded as the "Dark Continent" and not much was known about its people or natural resources till the beginning of the 19th century. Recent explorations had revealed the unlimited industrial potentialities that lay hidden and buried in Africa. The Industrial Revolution demanded their exploitation. So in the 19th century there was a real scramble for colonies.

At the beginning of the 19th century there were only a few European Settlements in Africa. There were some English, French and Dutch trading stations on the north coast and in the

south, England owned the Cape Colony and Natal.

The Opening of the Suez Canal (1869) and its Importance.

It had long been the cherished hope of traders and statesmen to connect the Mediterranean with the Red Sea by means of a canal so that the sea route to the East might be cut down by several thousand miles. This hope was realized by a French engineer named Ferdinand de Lesseps, who conceived the plan of constructing a canal in 1854 and got concessions from the Khedive of Egypt. In 1859, a company was floated to accomplish the job. England did not take much interest in the project and kept aloof. By 1869, Lesseps had completed the Suez Canal. It was a great event. Once again the commercial importance of the Mediterranean was revived and Europe was now connected with Asia and the European Empire in the east by a much shorter route. France by accomplishing the feat naturally scored a strategic victory over the other European Powers. It was clear to European diplomats that the country which controlled the Suez would also control the new sea route to India. Disraeli, the British Prime Minister, (1874-80), realized the importance of the Suez and wanted to have a share in its control. The Khedive Ismail Pasha who owned 176,000 shares of the Suez Company was heavily in debt and was eager to sell his shares. Disraeli grasped the opportunity and in spite of bitter opposition in the Cabinet from Derby, the Foreign Minister, and Northcote, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, purchased the whole lot of shares for £4,080,000 in 1875. By virtue of the deal England became the dominant partner in the Company and her influence in its operation became supreme. Disraeli by his far-sighted policy "turned the tables on the French". The opening of the Suez canal also increased the importance of the continent of Africa. We shall now study how the "Dark Continent" was partitioned among the English, French, Germans, Italians and Belgians.

I. British Expansion in Africa

(a) **Intervention in Egypt.** The Suez Canal had also increased the political importance of Egypt, and European Powers, particularly England and France, vied with each other to extend their sphere of influence over her. Fortunately political and economic conditions in Egypt were favourable for foreign intervention. Khedive Ismail Pasha was extremely extravagant and

heavily in debt. His administration was corrupt and tyrannical. The English and French creditors were alarmed at the financial bankruptcy of the Khedive and in May 1876, they intervened and established an International Commission to safeguard their financial interests. Gradually their joint control extended to other spheres also. Egypt was still nominally under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Turkey. Under pressure from the foreign Powers the Sultan forced the corrupt and incorrigible Ismail Pasha to abdicate in 1879. His son Tewfik succeeded him, but he was a mere puppet in the hands of foreign diplomats.

Rebellion of Arabi Pasha (1881-82). The whole country was seething with discontent on account of Tewfik's inefficient administration and the intervention of foreign countries in its domestic affairs. An army general named Arabi Pasha staged a coup and demanded reforms. Tewfik was helpless and yielded. Arabi became a minister. A sinister propaganda against the foreigners began with the demand of "Egypt for Egyptians". The law and order situation in the country deteriorated. The primary need of the hour was to re-establish peace. But who should do it? The Sultan, the nominal suzerain, was powerless. England and France could not come to an understanding. So a conference of ambassadors was summoned at Constantinople in June, 1882, to discuss how the Sultan could intervene and restore order in Egypt. But it failed to come to an agreement.

Meanwhile some Europeans were massacred at Alexandria on June 11 and England decided "to act, if necessary alone". The French refused to co-operate. The British navy shelled Alexandria in July and a British expeditionary force under Sir Garnet Wolseley landed in Egypt in August. Arabi in desperation let loose the convicts in jails and there was a terrible massacre for some time. But Arabi's success was short-lived. He was overwhelmed at the battle of Tel-el-Kabir on 13 September and the next day Cairo fell to the English. The Khedive's authority was restored, but he was a mere puppet in the hands of the English who were now virtual masters of Egypt. Arabi was tried and sentenced to death, but later he was deported to Ceylon.

The Attitude of the Great Powers. Bismarck supported British action, but Turkey and Russia condemned it. France was terribly indignant when England rejected her offer to revive joint control or the Condominium. In order to pacify European

antagonism, Gladstone, the British Prime Minister, assured the Great Powers that as soon as order was restored in Egypt, British forces would be withdrawn. Order was never restored and so the British Protectorate over Egypt also continued. The hostility of France continued and she was reconciled to this only in 1904.

(b) **Intervention in the Sudan (1883-84).** *The Mahdi's Revolt.* Sudan was politically a part of Egypt, but in 1883 the Sudanese rose in revolt under their "Mahdi", Muhammed Ahmed. The Khedive sent General Hicks to suppress the revolt but he was outnumbered and killed near Shekan. In January 1884, General Gordon was despatched against the rebels, but he too was besieged by the Mahdists at Khartoum. The situation in Sudan was precarious; the weak and indecisive policy of the British cabinet made it still worse. Gordon could not hold on for long and was killed. Khartoum fell to the rebels. The British therefore decided to vacate part of Sudan and withdrew north of Wady Halfa temporarily.

The "Fashoda" Incident (1898). The Mahdi died in June, 1885 and was succeeded by Khalifa Abdulla. French influence in the Sudan was on the increase, so the British decided to reconquer it. Lord Kitchener completed the reconquest from 1896 to 1898. In 1898, a French bid to claim certain areas of the Sudan almost led England and France to the brink of war. Captain Marchand hoisted the French flag at Fashoda and claimed the Bahr-el-ghazal area of Sudan. England resisted the claim and Kitchener advanced against the French. But better counsels prevailed and the French accepted the British claim and withdrew.

(c) **South Africa.** (1) *The Cape Colony.* It was a Dutch Colony up to 1795. But during the wars of Revolutionary France, Holland had been over-run and its Stadtholder, the Prince of Orange, had fled to England. He encouraged England to occupy the Cape Colony, so that it might not fall into French hands like Holland. After the fall of Napoleon, it was purchased by the English for £ 6,000,000 in 1814.

Relations between the English and the old Dutch settlers, popularly known as the Boers were strained from the very beginning. They became worse on account of the restrictions imposed on slavery by the British government. (Slavery had been abolished from the British Empire in 1807). The latter therefore left the colony and trekked to the Transvaal and Orange Free State. By

the Sand River Convention (1852) England recognized the independence of the Transvaal in 1852 and of Orange Free State in 1854.

(2) *Natal*. The British occupied Natal from 1824 to 1843. It remained a part of the Cape Colony up to 1856, when it was separated. In 1893 it was granted responsible government.

(3) *British Sovereignty over Basutoland* (1868). Moshesh, the Basuto tribal leader, made a treaty with the English in 1843, and Basutoland was placed under British protection. In 1868, his request, "Let me and my people rest under the large folds of the flag of England", was accepted and British sovereignty over Basutoland was established.

(4) *Annexation of the Transvaal* (1877) and the *Zulu War* (1879). There were terrible disturbances in the Transvaal by the tribal chiefs, and the Boers were faced with complete annihilation at their hands. After that it might be the turn of the British. Therefore, the English decided to intervene and after suppressing the Zulu chiefs, the Transvaal was annexed and the Boers were promised complete self-government under the British. Two years later (1879) the Zulus under Cetewayo declared war on the English, but after an initial reverse at Isandhlwana, Sir Garnet Wolseley decisively defeated the Zulus at Ulundi. Cetewayo was captured and deported to Cape Town. Order was restored in Transvaal.

The Boer War (1880-81). The Boers who were now freed from the Zulu danger could not reconcile themselves to British conquest of the Transvaal and under their leader Kruger rose in revolt. The British were taken unawares and were defeated at Majuba Hill (February, 1881). Before General Roberts who was despatched, with considerable forces could take any action Sir Evelyn Wood, the British High Commissioner, had signed an agreement with the Boers granting them self-government under the Queen. This was ratified by the Convention of London in February, 1884.

The Boer War (1899-1902). The trouble in the Transvaal again broke out. There were a substantial number of "outlanders" or foreigners, mostly English, who were interested in gold mining. Their relations with the Government were very strained and they were further worsened by the Jameson raid (1896). Dr. Jameson organized a raid on the Transvaal in the hope of overthrowing the Boer Government, but failed. The British Government tried to

intervene and negotiated to procure full citizenship rights for the outlanders. But Kruger, the President of the Transvaal, refused the British proposal.

Consequently, war again broke out between the English and Boers. The Boers fought heroically and inflicted several defeats on the British forces. Their courage and determination evoked French, German and Russian sympathy. But Europe was unable to intervene actively. The war dragged on and terrible atrocities were committed. It was with great difficulty that Generals Robert and Kitchener succeeded in wearing down the Boer opposition. The Government accepted Kitchener's proposal for a negotiated peace as against unconditional surrender of the Boers. And as a result, the *Treaty of Vereeniging* was signed in 1902. The Transvaal remained within the Empire but no indemnity was imposed on the Boers. Instead they were compensated for the burning of their farms. General Botha, their leader was acclaimed as a hero when he visited England. In 1909, the English and Dutch colonies were united together as Union of South Africa.

II. *French Expansion in Africa*

The French already held a few possessions on the west coast of Africa, but they were not content with their colonial empire in Africa and desired to increase their influence along the north coast. Their eyes were specially focussed on Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco and through the great Sahara they wanted to join up with French West Africa.

(1) **Conquest of Algeria (1830-47).** Under Louis Philippe, the conquest of Algeria was completed. On the plea of suppressing the "Barbary Corsairs", the Algerian pirates, the French intervened and ultimately conquered the whole of Algeria.

(2) **Tunisia (1881).** Tunisia was coveted by both the French and Italians and consequently there was acute rivalry over it between them. The Bey of Tunis was in debt to France and the administration was very inefficient and corrupt and there was no hope of the repayment of the French debt. France and Italy therefore, intervened in the internal affairs of Tunisia to set the administration in order. Bismarck suggested to Italy that she might annex Tunisia, but out of regard for France she desisted from doing so. At the Congress of Berlin in 1878, Bismarck hinted to France that she could establish her protectorate over Tunisia. Bismarck had

a three-fold objective in mind. Firstly, it would make the French forget the loss of Alsace and Lorraine for some time, secondly, it would stir up ill feelings between Italy and France and, thirdly, it would throw Italy into the lap of Germany.

Relations between Algeria and Tunisia were not cordial and Tunisian tribesmen had aggressive designs on Algeria. In order to suppress them, the French attacked Tunisia in 1881, occupied it and declared it a protectorate. "England was surprised, Italy was indignant, but Germany approved" the French action. By the Treaty of Bardo (12 May, 1881), the French protectorate over Tunisia was accepted by the Great Powers. But Italy, an old friend of France, was alienated for good.

(3) In 1883 the French colonized **Madagascar**.

(4) **Morocco**. It was a bone of contention between France and Germany. But as a result of an agreement with England, France was allowed to establish her protectorate over Morocco and she in return recognized English occupation of Egypt (1904).

III. *German Expansion in Africa*

Germany had achieved her unity only in 1871 and so she had been left behind in the race for the acquisition of colonies. Moreover, Bismarck at first was against any colonial enterprise. It was only after the Industrial Revolution in Germany that she began to feel the need of raw material and foreign markets and of finding suitable settlements for her increasing population. She felt "too cribbed, cabin'd and confined" and demanded "a place in the sun". Bismarck now followed a forward colonial policy and since expansion in America was impossible on account of the Monroe Doctrine he turned his attention to Africa.

Von der Decken, a German, had already explored East Africa and suggested to the Government the desirability of establishing a German colony there. In 1882, the *Deutscher Kolonialverein* was formed and within two years (1884-85) Germany established her protectorate over German South-west Africa, Togoland, Cameroon and Tanganyika. These were very profitable possessions acquired "without a fleet and without moving a soldier", while the English and French had to fight hard to acquire their colonies.

The British did not oppose German expansion in Africa; on the other hand Gladstone welcomed it.

IV. *Italian Expansion*

Italy whose ambitions had been thwarted in Tunisia by France felt frustrated at first. But she too had her share of the "scramble" in Africa. In 1882, she occupied Assab which finally led to her acquisition of Eritrea in 1885.

In 1911-12 Tripoli and Cyrenaica were also annexed by her.

V. *Belgian Expansion*

King Leopold of the Belgians summoned an international Congress of explorers and scientists in 1876 and organized the International Association for the exploration and civilization of Central Africa. Several European countries including Belgium, France, Portugal and England participated in the venture and large parts of Central Africa were explored and occupied by them. The Belgians were most active in the Congo region. The Belgian International Association of the Congo was recognized as a territorial power by several nations including Great Britain, Germany and the U.S.A. In December, 1884 the Association recognized the independent State of the Congo and the next year King Leopold of the Belgians assumed sovereignty of the Congo State and it became his personal possession.

Berlin Conference (1884-85). This was summoned by Germany and France to discuss the African situation particularly in the Congo region and a general agreement on abolition of slavery and slave trade, and freedom of trade in the Congo basin was reached by the Great Powers.

C. EXPANSION IN THE PACIFIC REGION

European contacts with Australia and the islands in the Pacific were first made in the 16th century. In 1527, the Portuguese traders to the Spice Islands touched the north coast of Australia. In 1542 the Spaniards reached the Philippines and Caroline and Palau islands. Further explorations by the Dutch were made in the 17th century and in 1642-44 Abel Tasman, a Dutch sailor circumnavigated Australia, and touched New Zealand. Of all the explorers of the Pacific region, James Cook (1728-79) was the greatest. In several voyages in the South Pacific he discovered a number of islands, including the New Hebrides and Norfolk islands.

Though the Dutch had explored the coastline of Australia, they

did not claim it. James Cook who explored the eastern coast from 1768 to 1771 reported that the Island had a very temperate climate and was most suitable for British settlers. After the loss of the American colonies in 1783, the British government decided to send their convicts to Australia. The first shipload of them reached Australia in 1788 and Australia was claimed by the English. The convict settlement soon attracted free men also and the British government encouraged Englishmen to settle in Australia by generous grants of lands. Gradually New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia and West Australia were colonized. By the Australian Colonies Government Act of 1850, the colonies were granted the right to have their own legislatures. By the end of the century there was a popular demand for a federation of all the colonies and in 1901 the Commonwealth of Australia was formed.

New Zealand was first discovered by the Dutch captain Tasman. But the British were the first to colonize it in 1826. The Maoris, the original inhabitants, were over-powered after a bitter struggle and the British colonization went on apace.

In 1907, New Zealand was also granted the status of a Dominion.

THE RESULTS OF COLONIAL EXPANSION

A. *Impact of European Civilization on Colonies*

With the acquisition of colonies by European countries, European civilization also spread to all continents. But this "Europeanization" was of "three types".

(1) **"Europeanization" of the West, North Asia, South Africa and Australasia.** In America, South Africa, Siberia and Australasia, a large number of European settlements were founded. This also meant "the transplanting of all the peculiar features of European culture". "It was literally an expansion of Europe". Today the Americans, Australians, New Zealanders, South Africans and Siberians are in every sense as "European" as the Europeans themselves. Their language, religion, social customs and cultural traditions are European. Their past and present are vitally linked with Europe and so will their future be except for the incursion, in the recent past, of American influence. No doubt there also live a number of non-European races like the Indians, Negroes, Maoris, etc. but they too like the "whites" have

been considerably Europeanized. They profess the Christian religion, have learnt European languages and have adopted European culture and social customs to a very large degree.

(2) **"Super-imposition of European civilization" on other civilizations.** The second type of Europeanization took place in Asia and North Africa where Western civilization tried to super-impose itself on the old and ancient civilizations of the East. Countries like India, China and Egypt were highly civilized long before their contact with the West. They had their own religions, languages, cultural traditions and social customs. Western contact did not materially change them, but certainly had a deep influence on them. The zealous missionaries spread the Christian religion and a substantial number of people adopted it. Christianity had its impact on Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism and gave rise to "reformatory" movements. Western civilization also affected social customs and political thought. In the former sphere, the abolition of slavery and *sati* owed a great deal to Western influence. Introduction of parliamentary democracy as a form of government in several countries was entirely due to Western influence.

A powerful minority of people, mostly of the middle classes, who received Western education and came in direct contact with the Europeans were certainly greatly "westernized". They adopted Western dress and manner of living and eating and took pride in speaking Western languages. But on the whole, a vast majority of people stuck to their own civilization and retained their religion, social customs and cultural traditions.

(3) **"Civilizing" the African Tribes.** Prior to European exploration and colonization Africa was a "Dark Continent". There was no contact with either the West or the East, and hence African tribesmen had neither been touched by Western nor by Asian civilizations. They had peculiar social customs and were educationally backward. They had some form of tribal government where 'human rights' were unknown. During the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries Europeans exploited their backwardness. A large number of negroes were sold into slavery. Slave trade brought great wealth to the European countries and African slaves were exported to America to provide cheap labour on the farms of the White people.

With the European expansion in Africa began a new chapter of

humanitarian activity. Slave trade was abolished and the African tribes came under the influence of Christianity and received the benefits of Western education.

Gradually the Western system of government was also introduced and the colonies were granted greater and greater measure of self-government.

B. *Industrial Revolution and Colonization*

The Industrial Revolution acted as a great spur to colonial activity. And to a large extent, the colonies were exploited for the benefit of the "mother country", but this exploitation certainly provided employment to a number of inhabitants of the colony. In some colonies industrial development also began to take place when the "mother country" thought it more economical to set up factories in them. Surplus industrial capital in Europe found profitable investment in the colonies.

C. *Tension among the Great Powers*

Colonial expansion roused high passions and generated a good deal of tension among the Great Powers.

(1) Affairs in Egypt and Sudan almost led England and France to the brink of a war.

(2) Italian indignation at the French annexation of Tunisia was not easily cooled.

(3) The Anglo-Russian rivalry in Central Asia caused several crises and it was only after 1892, when Russia definitely gave up her expansionist designs in Central Asia and turned to the East and China that better relations between the two countries were established.

(4) Russian expansion in the East embittered her relations with Japan and ultimately resulted in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904.

(5) Morocco was a bone of contention between the French and the Germans and the strained relations between the two were one of the causes of the catastrophe of the First World War.

(6) German and French sympathy for the Boers in their struggle against the English resulted in estranged relations between them.

D. Colonization and International Relations

The race for colonies was accompanied by a good deal of diplomatic activity. International rivalries and jealousies over the acquisition of colonies were thoroughly exploited by the diplomats of Europe in forming alliances and counter-alliances. The formation of the Triple Alliance between Germany, Austria and Italy, the Dual Alliance between France and Russia and the Triple Entente between Great Britain, France and Russia were largely the results of colonial rivalry between the Great Powers. (For a detailed account of diplomatic activity read Chapter 25).

Chapter 25

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS (1871-1914)

It will be convenient to study international relations from 1871 to 1914 under three sections. Section A will cover the period from 1871 to 1895; Section B from 1895 to 1907 and Section C from 1907 to 1914.

SECTION A (1871-95)

Europe in 1871 — Predominance of Germany

We have already seen how as a result of three wars, German unity had been finally achieved in 1871, and how Germany, emerged as the strongest Power in Europe (see Chapter 19). By virtue of her armed superiority over others the political hegemony of Europe also passed into her hands. Germany, not France, was henceforth the nerve-centre of political activity and consequently Berlin became the 'diplomatic capital' of Europe. Bismarck, the architect of modern Germany, was the ablest and the shrewdest statesman of his time and his diplomatic moves determined the course of future international relationship. He dominated the political scene from 1871 to his dismissal in 1890, and made Germany a dominant Power. Circumstances also favoured him a great deal. There was no Power in Europe strong enough to challenge the supremacy of Germany. France had recently been defeated and humbled and the new Republican Government was faced with several internal troubles. Russia had not yet sufficiently recovered from the effects of her defeat in the Crimean War. The Austro-Hungarian Dual Monarchy was weak on account of her defeat at the hands of Prussia in 1866 and on account of the grave internal unrest among her subject races. Great Britain was not inclined to interfere in continental affairs, so long as her supremacy at sea or her colonial interests

were not in danger. Italy was yet a young State. Thus we find that Germany was the undisputed leader of Europe in 1871.

International Competition and Alliances

German unity had been achieved by Bismarck after humbling Austria and France. Bismarck, the chief architect of German unity, feared a war of revenge by the French. So his entire energy was now diverted to making Germany a strong and powerful country so that it might be able to meet the French challenge successfully, when it came. He would not tolerate any upsetting of the "balance of power" in Europe and hence he evolved a system of alliances to maintain the hegemony of Germany. "This remarkable arrangement of international checks and balances, for a long time preserved peace among the peoples, but by the very fact of its existence ultimately engendered strife. For the system was of competing alliances, not of a universal league. It was a 'Balance' not a 'Concert' of powers."

By their very nature these competitive alliances developed mutual hatred, suspicion and fear. These, in turn, led to an unhealthy race for armaments ostensibly to maintain and ensure "peace", but actually to prepare for war. The national, political, economic and colonial rivalries of the Great Powers finally divided Europe into two armed camps, highly jealous and suspicious of each other. Such tension could not last long and finally brought about the tragedy of the First World War in 1914.

In order to understand how, "nationalism, sentimental quite as much as economic, complicated and imperilled the relationship among European states," and divided Europe into two blocs, we must once again turn to Germany, the political leader of Europe, and her relations with the other European Powers in 1871.

A. GERMANY AND FRANCE

France had been recently defeated, humiliated and deprived of the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. She was sooner or later bound to try to wage a war of revenge to wrest the two provinces from Germany. She would naturally try to get allies to realize her object and therefore it was in the interest of Germany to keep France "isolated" in Europe.

B. GERMANY AND RUSSIA

Up to 1870, cordial relations existed between Germany and Russia. Prussia had offered help to Russia in suppressing the Polish revolt in 1863 and since then Russia had been friendly to her. In 1866, Russia had remained neutral in the Austro-Prussian War, and again in 1870-71 Russia had 'contained' Austria in the Franco-Prussian War. In return, Prussia had allowed her to build a navy in the Black Sea in violation of the Treaty of Paris (1856).

C. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

Prussia had successfully ousted Austria from the German Confederation and had succeeded in establishing a unified sovereign German State. By offering her lenient terms at the Treaty of Prague (1866) after the Austro-Prussian War, she had earned Austrian gratitude.

Austria too having lost her possessions in Italy, looked for expansion in the Balkans and wanted an ally to support her in achieving her ambitions. And she could not think of a better friend than Germany with whom she had no further quarrels. Hence relations between Germany and Austria were also not inimical.

D. GERMANY AND ITALY

Relations between Germany and Italy too were not unfriendly because it was through German help that Italy had succeeded in annexing Venetia in 1866 and Rome in 1870 (see Chapter 18).

E. GERMANY AND ENGLAND

England remained neutral in all the wars Prussia had waged for the unification of Germany. Bismarck knew well that as long as Germany did not challenge British supremacy at sea, or violated the neutrality of Belgium, England would not be hostile to Germany. And he took special care not to offend her. He even encouraged British expansion in Africa.

To sum up, we find Germany and Russia quite friendly, England, Austria and Italy neutral. Only France was hostile to Germany and the bone of contention between the two was Alsace and Lorraine.

The Basis of German Foreign Policy

In the circumstances described above Bismarck followed a two-fold policy, namely that of isolating France and of making alliances with other Great Powers.

I. ISOLATION OF FRANCE

It was in German interest to keep France isolated, because singly she would not be able to defeat Germany. Hence he raised no objection to the establishment of a Republic in France, because the Tsar and the Emperor of Austria-Hungary both abhorred Republican governments and there was very little possibility of an alliance between them and Republican France. He encouraged the colonial rivalry of England and France in Egypt and the Sudan and thereby ensured that there would be no Anglo-French alliance against Germany. He also exploited the colonial rivalry of Italy and France in Tunisia.

II. MAKING ALLIANCES WITH OTHER POWERS

At the same time Bismarck worked for alliances with other Great Powers of Europe to further strengthen Germany.

(1) **The Three Emperors' Understanding (September, 1872).** Bismarck succeeded in forming an alliance of the three Eastern monarchs and in September, 1872, the Emperors of Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia formed a league with the following objects in view:

- (a) To maintain peace in Europe.
- (b) To consult together and take common action if war was threatened.

Its Strength and Weakness. It certainly ensured Austrian and Russian support to Germany if France threatened to reconquer Alsace and Lorraine. But the interests of Russia and Austria clashed in the Balkans and such an alliance could not last long. The first signs of a break appeared as early as 1876 when war clouds threatened peace in the Balkans over the Bulgarian revolt (see Chapter 23).

Russian Rift with Germany. The Tsar asked Bismarck what the attitude of Germany would be if a war broke out between Russia and Austria over the Balkan issue (vide Chapter 23). Bismarck

diplomatically replied that Germany would permit, "neither belligerent to lose her influence or independence as a great power". It was clear that Germany would not allow Russia to crush Austria.

Russia was very disappointed with the German attitude. She had expected that her services to Prussia in 1866 and 1871, would not be forgotten. Having received a virtual rebuff from Germany, Russia now turned to ~~Austria~~ ^{Prussia} for a rapprochement on the basis of the spheres of influence in the Balkans. By the agreement of Reichstadt (1876) between Tsar Alexander II and Emperor Francis Joseph, it was stipulated that Austria would occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina whenever convenient to her and that Russia would be allowed to occupy Bulgaria.

The Congress of Berlin (1878) caused further disappointment to Russia. After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-78, Russia established her ascendancy in the Balkans, particularly over Bulgaria, by the Treaty of San Stefano (vide Chapter 23). England and Austria demanded a revision of the treaty and even threatened to go to war. On Bismarck's mediation an International Congress was held in Berlin (1878). Bismarck who pretended to act as the "honest broker" in dividing the spoils of war in the Balkans favoured Austria-Hungary which was allowed to keep Bosnia and Herzegovina to maintain order. But the Greater Bulgaria, a 'protegee' of Russia was dismembered. Russia bitterly complained of German ingratitude and the alliance of the Three Emperors was considerably weakened.

(2) **The Austro-German Alliance (1879).** Bismarck was perturbed at Russian alienation after the Congress of Berlin. He suspected that France might exploit the ill-will between Germany and Russia to effect a Franco-Russian alliance against Germany. To forestall such a move Bismarck wanted a closer ally. Austria which was a rival of Russia in the Balkans and whom Bismarck had recently appeased by allowing her to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina was the obvious choice. Austria too suspected Russian designs in the Balkans and would welcome a closer alliance with Germany. But Count Andrassy, the Austrian Chancellor, was a shrewd politician and quite a match for the wily Prussian. Andrassy insisted on making an alliance on his own terms; he would not agree to help Germany against France, but would like Germany to help her against Russia. After protracted negotiations

Bismarck accepted the Austrian terms and remarked to Andrassy, "If you will not accept my terms I am forced to accept yours". Consequently on 7 October 1879, the Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria was signed. It was purely defensive in character and was mainly aimed against Russia.

(a) Each agreed to help the other if either was attacked by Russia.

(b) If any other Power, namely France, attacked either party the other would observe neutrality.

(c) If Russia joined France then Germany and Austria would fight together.

In the first instance the alliance was to last for five years and might be extended by another three years. It was periodically renewed. Bismarck cleverly kept its terms secret up to 1887 and continued to woo Russia. But when the terms became known, the results were two-fold. On the one hand, it caused estrangement between Russia and Germany and, on the other, it checked Russian hostility towards Austria in the Balkans because Russia now knew that Germany would help Austria against her.

✓ (3) **The Triple Alliance (20 May, 1882).** There was acute rivalry between France and Italy over Tunisia in North Africa. Both coveted it. Bismarck exploited this rivalry and at one stage hinted to Italy that she should annex it; at another he encouraged France to do so, partly to compensate her for her loss of Alsace and Lorraine. So when France occupied it in 1881, Italy was terribly indignant. Her resentment was further accentuated by the demand of the "clerical" party in France for the restoration of the temporal power of the Pope. Italy was thus thrown into the lap of the Dual Alliance between Germany and Austria and it became a Triple Alliance. It was to last for four years in the first instance and was mainly directed against France.

(a) If France attacked Italy, the other two would help her.

(b) If two Great Powers presumably France and Russia attacked one or two of the signatory powers, then all the three would fight together.

(c) Italy made it clear that she would not fight against England.

Its Importance

(i) Italy was recognized as a Great Power.

- (ii) Italy was now secure from French aggression.
- (iii) Old rivalries between Italy and Austria were forgotten.
- (iv) Germany secured Italian help against France. The Dual Alliance was directed only against Russia.

(4) **The Dreikaiserbund or the New Understanding of the Three Emperors (1881).** Notwithstanding the fact that Germany had concluded a defensive alliance with Austria primarily against Russia, Bismarck turned to Russia in June, 1881, for another treaty. He wanted to maintain friendly relations with Russia also for fear of a Franco-Russian alliance. The new Tsar, Alexander III, who ascended the throne in 1881¹ after the assassination of his father, felt the growing isolation of Russia. Being an autocrat himself he had no love for democratic Republican France. So he was also eager to patch up his differences with Germany and Austria. Therefore when Bismarck approached him for the renewal of the "entente" of the Three Emperors, he readily agreed to do so.

(a) Austria, Germany and Russia agreed that if any one of them was at war with a fourth Great Power, the other two would observe "benevolent neutrality".

(b) Russia recognized Austrian interests in the Balkans.

(c) The Straits of Dardanelles would be closed to all warships.

A secret clause to the effect that Austria would be allowed to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina whenever she liked was also appended.

Difference between the Dual Alliance and Dreikaiserbund. The former stipulated armed intervention if either Austria or Germany was attacked by Russia or if Russia joined the enemy. It was a real alliance. The Dreikaiserbund was at best only an 'entente', it ensured only "benevolent neutrality".

The difference between the two is aptly expressed in the following words: "The 1879 treaty was a real alliance between two Powers, that of 1881 a vague entente between three. And against the iron of the alliance the earthenware of the entente was bound to be shattered in the end".

The Dreikaiserbund was renewed in 1884 but came to an end in 1887 when the terms of the Dual Alliance between Austria and Germany were known. Moreover, like the "Understanding" of the Three Emperors (1872) it could not last for long, because of the opposing interests of Russia and Austria in the Balkans.

(5) **The Reinsurance Treaty or "Compact" June, 1887.** Bismarck had failed to keep Russia, Austria and Germany united together on account of Austro-Russian rivalry in the Balkans. But he was eager to keep Russia detached from France, where General Boulanger, the War Minister, had been carrying on a warlike propaganda against Germany. The Tsar's overtures to France for a Franco-Russian alliance in 1886, therefore alarmed Bismarck. Hence he felt uneasy and wanted to ensure Russian neutrality if a war broke out between Germany and France. He now concluded a Reinsurance Treaty with her:

(a) If either Power was at war with another Great Power the other would maintain benevolent neutrality. But this was not to apply to aggressive wars and the Treaty would not operate if Russia attacked Austria or Germany attacked France.

(b) The status quo was to be maintained in the Balkans and Germany recognized Russian interests in Bulgaria. The neutrality of the Straits was also reaffirmed. By a secret clause Germany promised her support to prevent the restoration of Prince Alexander of Battenberg, and to help her in re-establishing a "regular, government" in Bulgaria. She further promised the Tsar moral support "to the measures which His Majesty (The Tsar) may deem it necessary to take to control the key of his empire". Bismarck made these promises to the Tsar to wean him away from France knowing fully well that England and Austria would never allow Russia to have a preponderant influence in the Balkans.

(6) **Mediterranean Agreement (August, 1887).** Hardly had Bismarck concluded the Reinsurance Treaty with Russia, when he played a double game to neutralize its result. He encouraged England, Austria and Italy to sign the 'Mediterranean Agreement' to maintain the status quo in the Balkans and the independence of Turkey.

We shall presently study how Bismarck's duplicity and trickery could not fool Russia for all time and how she gradually drifted into an alliance with France.

The Retirement of Bismarck (1890). The year 1890 marked the end of the remarkable career of Bismarck. Called upon, in 1862, by William I to save the monarchy from the forces of liberalism, he followed a policy of "blood and iron" and achieved German unity in 1871. Bismarck was a man of outstanding ability and was a pastmaster in statecraft. "Every move in a complicated

game was carefully planned from the outset." By his shrewd diplomacy he made Germany the strongest power in Europe from its very inception. He dominated the political stage of Europe right up to 1890, when on the accession of William II, he was forced to retire.

During the period he held power, he cleverly pulled the diplomatic strings and by means of the Dual Alliance which later converted itself into the Triple Alliance, secured Germany against the aggressive designs of France. His disappearance from the scene left a vacuum in the political field and no other single statesman could hold the stage for such a long time or play such a dominant role in international relations after 1890.

(7) **The Dual Alliance between France and Russia (1893).** As already mentioned earlier, Germany had been playing a double game. By the Austro-German alliance of 1879, Germany had agreed to help Austria if there was a war between her and Russia in the Balkans. By the Reinsurance Compact of 1887, she had also recognized Russian rights in Bulgaria. Since the interests of Austria and Russia were diametrically opposed to each other's, Germany was placed in a dilemma and soon she had to choose between the Austrian alliance and the Reinsurance Compact.

The following events brought about an estrangement between Germany and Russia and finally led to the formation of the Dual Alliance between Russia and France.

The Bulgarian Issue and Rift with Germany (1887)

Ever since 1887, relations between Russia and Austria were getting strained on account of Bulgaria. Russia had all along been trying to convert Bulgaria into a vassal state and strongly opposed the accession of Prince Ferdinand. But this move was resisted by England, Austria and Italy (vide the Mediterranean Agreement of 1887), and there was a grave danger of a war breaking out between Russia and Austria. But Bismarck's publication of the terms of the Austro-German alliance of 1879 averted the crisis and war was avoided. He made it clear to Russia that if there was a war between her and Austria, Germany would support Austria. Russia felt very indignant but held back. Bulgaria was saved from the horrors of another blood-bath. And certain of Austrian and German support, Ferdinand ascended the throne of Bulgaria. Bismarck's action had clearly demonstrated to

Russia where German sympathy lay if there was a conflict between Russia and Austria.

But before a final break with Russia, Germany made one more effort to reconcile Russia and proposed to renew the Reinsurance Compact in 1890. The Tsar declined the offer and a definite break occurred in Russo-German relations.

Economic and Military Co-operation between Russia and France (1888)

France which had been completely isolated so far watched with interest the growing rift between Russia and Germany and when it was complete, she made overtures to Russia.

"Hence little by little, following the lapse of the Reinsurance Treaty between Germany and Russia, Russia and France drifted into an alliance." In 1888, France offered economic aid and French arms to Russia. The friendship between the two countries was further cemented by naval visits. A French fleet visited Kronstadt in 1891 and was received by the Tsar. This resulted in an "Entente Cordiale" between the two countries and they agreed to consult each other if the peace of Europe was threatened. It was not a military alliance yet. A Russian fleet paid a return visit to Toulon in 1893 and the "Entente Cordiale" was converted into a "Dual Alliance". Its terms, which were kept secret up to 1895, were

- (a) Russia promised to support France if she was attacked by Germany or Italy or by both.
- (b) France agreed to assist Russia if she was attacked by Austria-Hungary, or Germany, or both.

Its Importance. The isolation of France was broken and it "gave France a new sense of security and prestige".

Results of these Alliances—Europe in 1895

With the formation of the Dual Alliance between Russia and France ended the first act of the diplomatic drama. It would therefore be helpful to take stock of the international situation as it was in 1895.

As a result of the alliances and counter-alliances, Europe had been divided sharply into two armed blocs, highly suspicious of each other. Only Great Britain remained aloof.

The Triple Alliance concluded in 1882 secured Germany against possible aggression by France and Russia. It also ended the quarrels between Austria-Hungary and Italy. Austria was also assured of German support against Russia in her ambitious designs in the Balkans. Italy too felt secure against aggressive French activity.

Bismarck's diplomatic trickery and duplicity in trying to be on friendly terms with both Austria-Hungary and Russia had been exposed and Russia henceforth definitely aligned herself with France and concluded the Dual Alliance with her. Thus the isolation of both France and Russia was broken and each felt secure in the alliance with the other.

The Position of Great Britain vis-a-vis the Triple Alliance and Dual Alliance

Great Britain alone stood isolated. In 1890 her relations with France and Russia were extremely unfriendly on account of colonial rivalry and there was no hope of her joining the Dual Alliance. On the other hand, she had hardly any quarrel with the Triple Alliance. By the Mediterranean Agreement of 1887 she was already committed to support in the Near East, Austria-Hungary and Italy, two members of the Triple Alliance. In 1890, consequent upon the conclusion of the Anglo-German agreement over Heligoland, which was transferred to Germany, her relations with Germany also became friendly. So it was expected that she might walk into the parlour of the Triple Alliance. But fate willed otherwise and the trend of international politics in the next decade completely reversed the picture.

Such was the political state of Europe in 1895 when the second act of the international diplomatic activity unfolded itself.

SECTION B (1895-1907)

In 1895, it was expected that there might be a conflict between the two Power Blocs. But from 1895 to 1902, there was unusual co-operation between them and they showed very marked antagonism towards Japan and Great Britain in the Far East and South Africa. This common hostility of Germany, Russia and France to Great Britain and Japan gradually brought them (Great Britain and Japan) closer together.

Sino-Japanese War (1895)—Attitude of the Great Powers

In the Sino-Japanese War of 1895, Japan defeated China. By the Treaty of Shimonoseki, she acquired Formosa, Liautung peninsula and Port Arthur. The Japanese victory roused the jealousy of Russia and Germany because Russia coveted Port Arthur which was a warm water port, whereas her own port of Vladivostok was frozen for most of the time in the year. Germany also hoped to acquire a port in the Far East with Russian help. They secured the support of France also and the three Powers sent a protest to Japan separately. Japan had no allies and was forced to yield. Liautung and Port Arthur were evacuated.

As a result of this successful intervention in China all the three Powers acquired territories in the Far East. In 1897, the Germans obtained the port of Kiao Chau and in 1898, the Russians forcibly occupied Port Arthur. France also acquired Kwangtschouan, as compensation. There was great resentment in Japan over the intervention of the three Powers. Great Britain had abstained from joining them and so Japan was drawn nearer to her and saw a possibility of an alliance with her.

The Boer War (1899-1902)—Attitude of the Great Powers

The Boers' heroic resistance against Great Britain roused great sympathy and admiration in Russia, Germany and France. The Press in these countries indulged in hostile propaganda against Great Britain. There was even talk of armed intervention, but the Franco-German differences over Alsace-Lorraine were too grave to allow a closer alliance and so the matter was dropped (see Chapter 24).

Franco-Italian Agreement (1902)

France and Italy, old rivals in North Africa, were reconciled to each other and a rapprochement was made. In 1900, by a secret agreement, Italy recognized the French protectorate over Tunisia and in return France allowed her a free hand in Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

In 1902, Italy declared that the Triple Alliance was not directed against France and by a secret clause she promised to remain neutral if France was attacked by a third Power.

This agreement certainly marked a breach in the Triple Alliance and made France more secure against Germany.

How Great Britain broke her "Splendid Isolation"

Against this background of alliances and counter-alliances the isolation of Great Britain was becoming dangerous, especially in view of the hostility of European Powers to various aspects of Britain's overseas expansion. Therefore she must resolve her differences with some European Powers and seek allies.

I. GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE—EVENTS LEADING TO THE DUAL ENTENTE (1904)

Great Britain and France were old rivals and had fought against each other for centuries. But their quarrels had been narrowed down considerably in recent years and were confined to Egypt, Sudan, West Africa, Siam and Newfoundland. France had not recognized the British occupation of Egypt and Sudan.

The Fashoda Incident (1898). There was a major political crisis popularly known as the Fashoda incident which almost precipitated a war between France and Great Britain. Under instructions from Hanotaux, the French Foreign Minister, Captain Marchand marched into the Sudan and hoisted the French flag in the village of Fashoda and claimed the Bahr-al-ghazal area of Sudan for France. The British were firm and Kitchener marched against him. A war between the two seemed imminent. Luckily better counsels prevailed and the new French foreign minister, Theophile Delcasse, decided to withdraw and the crisis passed.

The Anglo-French Entente. Delcasse was friendly to England and Anglo-French relations continued to improve. In 1903, Edward VII paid a visit to France and the French people gave him a hearty welcome. President Emile Loubet and Delcasse were welcomed in England with equal warmth and enthusiasm. Efforts to reach an understanding on the outstanding points of dispute between the two met with success, and an Anglo-French Entente followed in 1904.

- (1) England recognized French claims in Morocco.
- (2) France accepted the British protectorate over Egypt.
- (3) The differences in West Africa, Siam and Newfoundland were also settled.
- (4) In addition, the following secret articles were also accepted:

(a) The French would construct no fortifications opposite the Gibraltar.

(b) Spain was promised a part of Morocco when the Sultan would cease to rule. In October, 1904 a secret treaty to this effect was signed between Spain and France.

Its Importance

(i) The Anglo-French Entente was not a military alliance, it only signified cordial relations between the two countries. It certainly marked a new chapter in the history of Anglo-French relations. Their old colonial rivalries came to an end and traditional enmity was gradually converted into cordiality.

(ii) The secret clauses over Morocco ensured Spanish and British support to France.

(iii) From 1904 to 1914 the Entente led to a closer military and naval collaboration between the two, particularly against Germany which challenged the French interests in Morocco in 1906. But this did not commit either Power to a joint military action against Germany.

II. GREAT BRITAIN AND RUSSIA—ANGLO-RUSSIAN ENTENTE (1907)

Throughout the 19th century Great Britain had suffered from Russo-phobia and any attempt by Russia to expand in the Balkans or Central Asia met with severe British resistance. It was only after 1892 when Russia changed her colonial policy and concentrated on the Far East that relations between the two slightly improved (for details see Chapter 24).

At the beginning of the 20th century the interests of the two Powers mainly clashed in China and the Far East, in Persia and in Tibet.

Great Britain proposed to Russia as early as 1897 to come to an understanding with her over the Far East, but she rejected the offer and instead seized Port Arthur in 1898. In order to halt her expansionist dreams in the Far East Great Britain concluded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance in 1902. Two years later the Russo-Japanese war broke out and Japan scored a signal victory over Russia, which considerably lowered the latter's prestige in world affairs. Russia received another setback when in September, 1904 the British sent the Young-husband mission to Tibet to safeguard British interests there and to suppress Russian influence.

The Tibetan Lama agreed not to allow any foreign intervention in the internal affairs of Tibet. This was a great blow to Russian expansionist designs.

Relations between Russia and Great Britain were further strained on account of the Dogger Bank episode (October, 1904) when the Russian fleet had fired upon British ships in the North Sea, mistaking them for Japanese destroyers. The British protest was ignored by the Russians, consequently the British navy was ordered to stop the Russian fleet off Gibraltar. Through the mediation of Delcasse, the French Foreign Minister, the dispute was amicably solved. So far Russia had been largely pro-German. The Kaiser took advantage of "the acute crisis in the Anglo-Russian affairs" and in July, 1905 concluded the abortive Treaty of Bjorko with the Tsar by which each agreed to help the other, if attacked by another European power. The Kaiser expected that the Tsar would be able to persuade France also to join the pact. It was mainly directed against Great Britain, and its real object was "to block the way to the whole world becoming John Bull's private property". But the Russian statesmen bitterly opposed the treaty because firstly, they were suspicious of the German intentions, and secondly, France refused to join the pact on account of her estrangement with Germany over the Moroccan crisis (see below). After the Russian defeat at the hands of Japan there was a growing coldness in her relations with Germany. The construction of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway by Germany further worsened the relations between the two, as Russia was jealous of German influence in the Balkans. At this stage Russia was influenced by France, her partner in the Dual Alliance and agreed to settle her differences with Great Britain.

Consequently, an Anglo-Russian Entente on the parallel of the Anglo-French Entente was concluded:

- (1) The spheres of influence in Persia were clearly defined. Great Britain recognized Russian interests in the North and Russia recognized British interests in the South (Persian Gulf).
- (2) Russia gave up her designs on Afghanistan.
- (3) Both countries agreed not to interfere in the affairs of Tibet.

III. THE TRIPLE ENTENTE (1907)

The Anglo-Russian Entente merged into a Triple Entente between Great Britain, France and Russia. It was a non-military alliance, but the three countries agreed to consult each other in international affairs. This mutual collaboration developed greater understanding and solidarity among them.

IV. GREAT BRITAIN AND JAPAN—THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE (1902)

Russian expansionist ambitions in the Far East brought her into a conflict with Japan. We have seen earlier in this Chapter how Russia, Germany and France had deprived her of the fruits of victory over China in 1895. England had abstained from joining the three Powers. Japan was consequently very indignant with the three Continental Powers and was drawn towards Great Britain. Great Britain too wanted an ally in the Far East to curb Russian influence. Hence in 1902, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was made.

- (1) The *status quo* should be maintained in the Far East, particularly in Korea.
- (2) If a war broke out between Russia and Japan, Great Britain would remain neutral, but if France (by virtue of her alliance with Russia), or any other Power supported Russia, Great Britain would fight for Japan.

Its Importance.

(a) The splendid isolation of Great Britain in the Far East was broken.

(b) Trouble in the Far East was localized. <

When the Russo-Japanese War broke out in 1904, the other Powers remained neutral.

Japan was also drawn closer to the Triple Entente by the Russo-Japanese Convention of 1910 whereby Russia agreed to make no further incursions into China. The Anglo-Japanese alliance made in 1902 was also renewed in 1911.

Great Britain and Germany

It has been mentioned earlier that in 1890, relations between Great Britain and Germany were so friendly, that it was hoped

that she might join the Triple Alliance. But subsequent German policy, instead of strengthening ties with Great Britain, caused a rift between the two countries.

(1) **The Kaiser's telegram to Kruger (1896).** After the unsuccessful raid of Jameson in the Transvaal, the Kaiser William II, sent a telegram of congratulations to President Kruger on his triumph over the "outlanders". The provocative German attitude alienated the British people (see Chapter 24).

(2) **The Kaiser's visit to Turkey (October, 1898).** During his visit to Turkey, the Kaiser in his speech at Damascus avowed German friendship with the Muslim people. This roused British suspicions with regard to the Kaiser's intentions, because there lived a large number of Muslims in the British Empire.

(3) **The German Naval Programmes (1898 and 1907).** German armed forces were easily the best in Europe. She now embarked on a programme of naval expansion also for the following reasons:

- (a) A powerful navy was essential to protect German overseas trade and investments.
- (b) The German Patriotic Societies carried on propaganda for the expansion of the navy.
- (c) The Kaiser was very eager to make Germany a first-rate naval power. According to him England's greatness lay in her naval strength. Therefore if Germany wanted to be a great world Power—she was only a European Power so far—she must build a strong navy. "Germany's future lies upon the water," said the Kaiser.

Admiral Alfred Von Tirpitz, the German Minister of Navy from 1897 to 1916, was a man of outstanding ability and capacity for organization. Under his able guidance, a programme of naval extension was approved by the legislature in 1898 and a number of battleships, cruisers, submarines, destroyers, etc. were constructed. A similar expansion took place in 1907 and bigger ships with heavier guns were constructed. German naval power was practically doubled.

Its Reaction. Great Britain protested against the German naval programme without any effect. It was obviously an attempt to

challenge British naval supremacy. Consequently, an unhealthy competition for expansion of naval armaments followed and relations between the two worsened. International Conferences were held at the Hague to control armaments, but no tangible results were achieved and the race for armaments continued.

(4) **The Boer War (1899-1902) and hostile German propaganda.** During the Boer War, the German press carried on hostile propaganda against the British and even advocated armed intervention. The Kaiser and the German people exhibited tremendous sympathy for the Boers. This provocative attitude brought about a further deterioration in Anglo-German relations.

(5) **Anglo-German hostility in the Far East.** Germany had all along supported Russia in her expansion in the Far East and had been rewarded with the acquisition of the port of Kiao Chau in 1897. This had brought about estrangement between her and Great Britain. There was a temporary rapprochement between the two when they signed the Anglo-German Agreement in 1900 by which they agreed to take joint action to maintain the "territorial condition of China" and to follow an "open-door" policy in commerce. As a result, it was expected that Germany would support Great Britain against Russia in the future. But Prince Bulow, the German Chancellor, who was an avowed enemy of Great Britain made it categorically clear in 1901, that the Agreement was confined only to the Yang-tsze-Kiang valley and not to Manchuria. Further negotiations in London proved unsuccessful in spite of the British warning that if there was no agreement with Germany, she might approach France and Russia for an understanding.

The German sympathy with Russia and the Kaiser's unsuccessful bid to woo Russia and France by the proposed treaty of Bjorko (1905) further antagonized Great Britain.

(6) **The Berlin-Baghdad Railway Project (1899).** The growing German influence in Turkey was looked upon with suspicion by the British. The Kaiser's Damascus speech of 1898, was regarded as most unfriendly. Germany got the contract to link Berlin with Baghdad by rail. This would mean the expansion of German influence right up to the Persian Gulf. It was regarded as a grave threat to British interests there.

All the factors enumerated above brought about a gradual but serious rift in Anglo-German relations. The German naval

programme was a bid to challenge British naval supremacy. This Britain could not tolerate. It was a major factor in rousing hostile feelings in Great Britain. It also constituted one of the chief causes of the First World War in 1914. "In so far, therefore, as Anglo-German enmity contributed to the war, it was Germany's naval programme that was the actual cause."

Germany's provocative attitude towards her prompted Great Britain to seek allies elsewhere and was, to a large extent, responsible for the conclusion of an Anglo-Russian Entente in 1907.

Europe in 1907

As a result of the feverish diplomatic activity of the last decade or so, when the second act of the international drama concluded, the splendid isolation of Great Britain had ended. Japan was her ally in the Far East, and she had by the Entente cordiale drawn closer to France and Russia. Consequently, the Great Powers were divided into two armed camps, the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria and Italy) *versus* the Triple Entente (France, Russia and Great Britain). Between these two blocs there was an unhealthy rivalry and competition for armaments. An atmosphere of suspicion, distrust and hate further vitiated the relations between them and any crisis might have caused an international conflagration.

SECTION C (1906-14)

The Race for Armaments and International Crises ✓

From 1906 to 1911 on five occasions, the peace of Europe hung by a slender thread and it was a miracle that war was averted and postponed till 1914. The intervening years, therefore, were a period of "armed peace".

Side by side with the diplomatic activity leading to the formation of alliances and counter-alliances a feverish competition in armaments also went on. Practically all European Powers increased their military forces. In addition the German programme of naval expansion (1898, 1907) further accentuated the rivalry among the Great Powers. It was realized by all Powers that this unhealthy competition was likely to jeopardize the peace of Europe and so two efforts were made to come to an understanding on the question of armaments.

✓ A. THE FIRST HAGUE CONFERENCE (1899)

Immediately after the first naval expansion programme of Germany, the Tsar decided to call an international conference at the Hague to outlaw war and to control competition in armaments. He rightly stated that, "the preservation of peace had become an object of international policy". In response to his initiative, 29 nations including the U.S.A. attended the meeting.

Its Results

(1) It was apparent from the very beginning that Germany was not prepared to relax her naval programme and therefore no agreement on the reduction of armaments could be reached.

(2) As a result of the Tsar's indefatigable efforts, the Powers agreed on the codification of international law.

(3) A Court of Arbitration (it later became the International Court of Justice) was established at the Hague. How far the Court would be able to settle the disputes was problematic in view of the Kaiser's remark that "he should depend not on arbitration but on his own sharp sword for safety".

B. THE SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCE (1907)

The Tsar in co-operation with President Roosevelt of the U.S.A. made another attempt to reduce armaments and to lessen tension consequent upon the launching of the second German naval programme of 1907. A second international conference attended by 44 nations met at the Hague.

Its Results

(1) The Powers could not arrive at an agreement on the general reduction of armaments though they passed a resolution on the desirability of limiting armaments.

(2) It restricted the use of force in collecting foreign debts.

(3) By a Convention, the Powers agreed to issue a formal declaration of war before hostilities actually broke out.

(4) It was also agreed that such conferences should be held periodically.

The net result of these conferences was that no reduction of armaments was possible on account of the intransigence of Germany. Her naval expansion was intensified, and when the British protested against its possible repercussions, the Kaiser remarked that "he would go to war rather than submit to dictation of his naval programme by a foreign power".

In August 1908, King Edward VII met Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, and complained to him of the German naval programme. In October of the same year, the Daily Telegraph published an interview with the Kaiser to the effect that his people wanted war with England, but he alone stood in their way. There was a storm of protest in England.

Therefore Great Britain had no alternative but to speed up her naval expansion (1908-10) to meet the German menace. And so the race for armaments went on.

International Crises (1906-14)

Simultaneously with the naval expansion programme German diplomatic activity during this period (1906-14) aimed at three things:

(1) It tried to break up the Triple Entente by challenging it in Morocco and the Near East.

(2) It strengthened her ally Austria-Hungary by encouraging her to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina.

(3) She extended her commercial and military influence in the Ottoman Empire, by constructing railways and by training the Turkish armies (vide Chapter 23).

This aggressive German policy resulted in several international crises, "which grew more and more menacing to the preservation" of peace.

A. THE MOROCCO CRISIS, OR THE "TANGIER INCIDENT" (1905-06)

Morocco was a neighbour of French Algeria and both France and Spain were deeply interested in her politics. In 1904, there was a Franco-Spanish Treaty regarding Morocco. It reaffirmed the independence and integrity of Morocco. But by a secret clause the two agreed on its partition and Spain was promised the Mediterranean Coast Line. They regarded the Moroccan affair as an exclusive concern of France and Spain. Germany too had her economic interests in Morocco and would not accept this exclusive claim. Their rivalry in Morocco led to an international crisis in 1905.

The French Attitude. The French Foreign Minister, Delcasse, wanted to establish a French protectorate over Morocco. So he came to an understanding with Italy (1900) and it was agreed

between the two that France would have a free hand in Morocco and Italy in Tripoli.

By the Franco-Italian Agreement the Triple Alliance (Germany, Italy and Austria) was weakened and Italy drew nearer to France. An agreement was also reached with Great Britain and Spain by the secret clauses of the Anglo-French Entente (1904) (see above). In 1905 the political condition in Morocco was very disturbed, so the French resolved to intervene and forced the Sultan, Abdul Aziz, to carry out reforms.

The German Attitude. Germany would not recognize the secret clauses of the Entente and insisted on maintaining the integrity of the Sultan. She would not permit any French intervention in the internal affairs of Morocco. Bulow, the German Chancellor, who was eager to test the strength of the Anglo-French Entente challenged the French action and persuaded the Kaiser to intervene. The Kaiser himself landed in Tangier and declared his support to the sovereignty of the Sultan. He demanded an international conference to decide the future of Morocco. This created a grave crisis which might endanger the peace of Europe.

Delcasse opposed the German demand, but when he got no support from his colleagues, he resigned. The tension continued. Luckily, through the mediation of President Roosevelt of the U.S.A., both sides agreed to refer the dispute to an international conference.

The Algeiras Conference (1906). A twelve-nation conference assembled at Algeiras in a very tense atmosphere to settle the Franco-German dispute. War clouds hung heavy over Europe. The German attitude was menacing. But throughout the deliberations of the Conference Italy, Great Britain and several other Powers supported France. The British went a step further and close military and naval collaboration was established between France and Great Britain, without a commitment by either party to help the other if a war broke out.

After protracted negotiations the conference arrived at the following decisions:—

- (1) The sovereignty of the Sultan was acknowledged.
- (2) An International Police force supplied by France and Spain but under a Swiss Inspector-General of Police, was to help the Sultan to maintain law and order in Morocco.
- (3) A State Bank under the aegis of Great Britain, France,

Spain and Germany was to safeguard the economic interests of the Great Powers.

The Importance of the Conference. Firstly, Anglo-French solidarity at the conference further strengthened the ties of friendship between the two, and belied the German hopes of creating a break in the Anglo-French Entente. Secondly, the peaceful penetration of Morocco by France continued. And thirdly, the prestige of Germany received a setback.

B. CRISIS IN THE NEAR EAST—AUSTRIAN ANNEXATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA (1908)

The conclusion of an Anglo-Russian Entente in 1907 was a landmark in international diplomacy as it marked the end of a long period of hostility between the two countries. The visit of Edward VII to the Tsar in 1908 further affirmed their cordiality. This roused great apprehension in the minds of the German statesmen and the Kaiser bitterly complained of the "encirclement" of Germany.

Germany therefore desired to strengthen the Triple Alliance.

We have already discussed in Chapter 23, the Balkan situation in 1908 and the relations between Serbia and Austria-Hungary over the issue of Bosnia and Herzegovina which were being administered by Austria since 1878.

In 1908, the "Young Turks" carried out a successful revolution in Turkey and introduced several administrative reforms. Austria-Hungary feared that a resurrected Turkey might claim the two provinces back. So, supported by Germany she annexed the two provinces outright in 1908. This was in violation of the Treaty of Berlin (1878). Russia, vigorously protested against it and demanded compensation. It also roused bitter passions in Serbia which had been dreaming of forming a big Yugoslav State with all the Slav people in it. Serbia was supported by Russia, another Slav country, and the dispute between Austria and Serbia threatened to assume dangerous proportions. A war between the two seemed almost certain. Russia demanded an international conference but the proposal fell through on account of Austrian and German opposition. Throughout the crisis Germany wholeheartedly supported Austrian action. Prompted by Germany, Aehrenthal, the shrewd Austrian foreign minister, struck a bargain with Turkey and paid her two and a half million

pounds as compensation for the loss of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Since the annexation was accepted by Turkey the nominal suzerain of the two provinces, Russia kept quiet. Conrad, the Austrian chief of staff, and Archduke Franz Ferdinand, the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne, were anxious to crush Serbia for good, but were prevailed upon by Germany to hold back. A war was averted and the crisis passed, but passions continued to rise.

Importance of the Annexation. (1) Relations between Serbia and Austria became extremely strained. Provocative propaganda continued on either side of the frontier. Pasic, the Serbian Prime Minister, was determined to unite all Slavs under one banner. The menacing attitude of the Serbs constituted the greatest threat to peace in the Balkans.

(2) Russia felt terribly humiliated and her relations with Germany and Austria further deteriorated.

(3) It was a great victory for the Triple Alliance and to a large extent off-set the German discomfiture at Algeiras.

C. MOROCCO AGAIN—THE 'AGADIR INCIDENT' (1911)

Causes of the Crisis: (a) **Franco-German Differences.** After the Algeiras Conference, French penetration in Morocco continued. But in order to allay German fears a Franco-German agreement, popularly known as the "Morocco Pact" (1909) was signed. They both reaffirmed the independence of Morocco. But Germany recognized the "special political interests" of France in Morocco and France recognized German economic interests in Morocco and agreed to give her all facilities for trade. But this agreement was not implemented and the French continued to discriminate against the Germans.

(b) **Civil War in Morocco and French expedition to Fez (1911).** Morocco was in the grip of a civil war in 1911, and the Sultan appealed to France for help. A French expeditionary force landed in Morocco and occupied Fez, the capital.

German intervention and threat to Peace. Germany protested against French intervention and sent a gunboat named "Panther" to the port of Agadir, ostensibly to safeguard German nationals and German economic interests. Once again a tense situation was created and the peace of Europe was jeopardized. But Great Britain remained firm in her support of France and protested to

Germany against her bellicose action. Consequently the German warship was withdrawn and war was averted.

By another Franco-German Agreement (1911) Germany recognized the French protectorate over Morocco and as compensation she was given some territory in the French Congo.

The second Morocco crisis once again showed to Germany that the Anglo-French Entente was hard to break.

D. TURCO-ITALIAN WAR (1911-12)

The Turco-Italian War of 1911, constituted another crisis which almost led Europe to the brink of a war. Italian interests in the Balkans clashed with those of Austria-Hungary and any attempt made by Italy to aggrandize herself at the cost of Turkey was regarded as unfriendly by Austria. Luckily the war remained localized and by the Treaty of Lausanne (1912), Italy annexed Tripoli and Cyrenaica.

E. THE WARS OF THE BALKAN LEAGUE (1912-13)

The Balkan peninsula which had witnessed several wars in the 19th century, was once again the scene of a grim tragedy. The Balkan wars of 1912-13 threatened to envelop Europe in a big conflagration and created another international crisis. Austria-Hungary was determined to block the expansion of Montenegro and Serbia along the Adriatic and it seemed that she might jump into the war to suppress Serbia. But as a result of the intervention of the Great Powers, the war remained localized to the Balkan peninsula.

When peace was concluded (Treaty of Bucharest, 1913) Serbia emerged with enlarged territories, though she was deprived of her gains along the Adriatic by Austria. Montenegro too was forced to withdraw from Scutari. And an autonomous State of Albania was created (see Chapter 23).

Europe in 1914

When the curtain dropped on the Balkan wars and the last crisis before the First World War passed without even causing a European War, it was hoped that the worst was over and a period of peace would follow. But the European situation in 1914 was still very explosive because the elementary causes of hostility between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente had not been

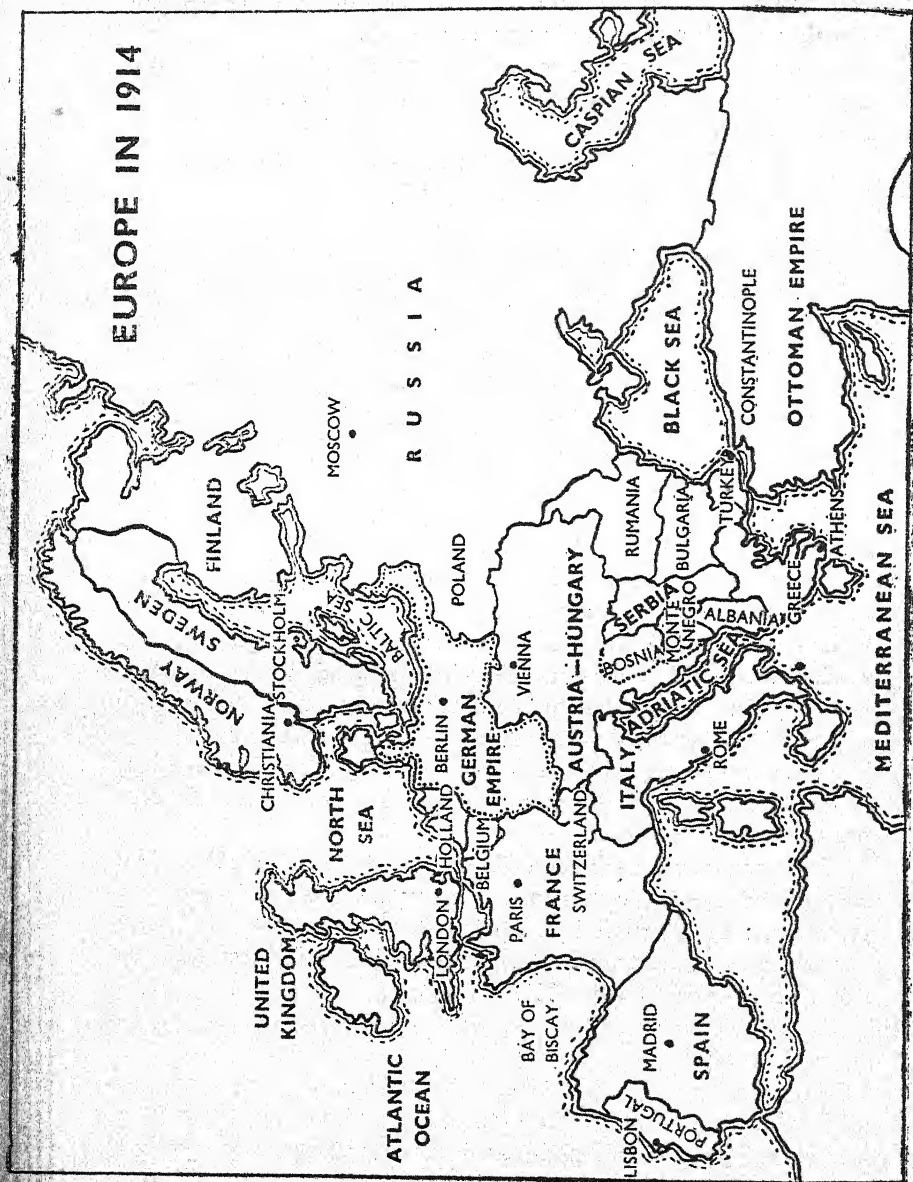


Fig. 13

resolved. If anything, the crises had further aggravated their rivalry.

Germany felt humiliated at Morocco, so did Russia in the Bosnia crisis of 1908. Both were eager to rehabilitate their prestige when a new crisis presented itself. Anglo-German naval rivalry continued unabated. But the greatest threat to peace was the Austrian attitude to Serbia whose ambitions had been thwarted by her so often in the past. Hostile propaganda in both the countries was apt to bring about another crisis at any time. And so it did. The murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand in Bosnia precipitated the First World War.

Chapter 26

THE FIRST WORLD WAR 1914-18

THE international crises which we have discussed in the last chapter vitiated the political atmosphere and widened the gulf between the Great Powers. Another crisis might endanger the peace of Europe. In the political atmosphere of 1914 surcharged with suspicion, ill-will and provocative propaganda, it was not difficult to create another crisis. The murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on 28 June, 1914, provided the Great Powers with the 'occasion' to test their respective strength and precipitated a world war.

GENERAL CAUSES OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

(1) **Division of Europe into Two Armed Camps.** In the last chapter we have seen how during the course of the last 50 years, on account of the diplomatic activity of the Great Powers Europe had been divided into two armed blocs—the Triple Alliance (Germany, Austria-Hungary and Italy) and the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France and Russia). The relations between these two blocs were most antagonistic as was clear from the attitude they took in the settlement of various political crises from 1905 to 1913. Consequently, the armed peace that reigned in the last decade was not likely to last long.

(2) **Growth of a Militant Germany.** Germany from the very outset was a military State. She was the product of the "blood and iron" policy of Bismarck and the same policy continued even after the achievement of German independence and unity. The German army was the strongest and the most powerful engine of war in Europe. But German ambition was not confined to Europe alone. Her expanding trade and the demand for "a place in the sun" required an equally powerful navy. Britain's greatness was mainly due to her naval supremacy. Hence

Germany must be equally strong at sea if she wanted to be a world Power. Therefore she must have as great and powerful a navy as Great Britain. To achieve this end, she launched two ambitious programmes of naval expansion in 1898 and 1907. This naturally roused British hostility and competition.

So long as Germany had not challenged British naval superiority, the relations between the two had remained cordial. Bismarck had taken special care not to offend Great Britain. But after his exit German foreign policy also changed. English friendship was thrown to the winds and a programme of naval expansion was launched, and consequently relations between the two became intensely strained.

(3) **Competition in Armaments.** The increased German military and naval development evoked a race in armaments and all the Great Powers of Europe started raising the strength of their armies and navies. This unhealthy competition further accentuated the bitterness that had already existed among the members of the two blocs and brought the war nearer. In spite of the two Hague Conferences, armaments could not be limited.

(4) **German Jingoism—Kaiser's Provocative Attitude.** Administration in Germany was dominated by the army. The civilian authority was definitely subservient to it, as the Kaiser invariably supported the latter if there was a conflict between the two. The army often used hostile language and exhibited a bellicose attitude towards the members of the Triple Entente. The Kaiser himself had asserted on a previous occasion that if he had not kept his people under control there would have been a war with England long ago. His attitude in the Moroccan crisis was most provocative. German admirals and generals followed in the footsteps of their master. Admiral Tirpitz and General von Moltke claimed that they could sweep England, France and Russia aside if they had their way. This sabre-rattling of the German army and naval officers overawed the politicians in their own country and created a good deal of distrust abroad. Consequently every political move of Germany was watched with great suspicion.

(5) **Franco-German rivalry over Alsace and Lorraine.** France had not forgotten her defeat in 1870-71 and had not reconciled herself to the loss of Alsace and Lorraine. The German annexation of these provinces was a running sore in the body

politic of France and sooner or later a war of revenge was bound to follow. The strained relations between the two countries were mostly responsible for the formation of the Triple Alliance and the Dual Alliance (between France and Russia). (For details see Chapter 25.)

(6) **The Balkan Problems.** "No single event influenced the outbreak of the war in 1914 more than the Balkan Wars of 1912-13." The clash of interests of the Great Powers in the Balkan peninsula was the most outstanding cause of the First World War.

In Chapter 23 we have already discussed how relations between Austria-Hungary on the one side and Serbia and Russia on the other had reached a breaking point. Serbia, sufficiently enlarged after the Balkan war of 1912-13, was in a much stronger position in 1914 than in 1908. She had not forgotten the Austrian usurpation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, two predominantly Slav provinces. She had been dreaming of uniting all the Slav peoples in one state. The only country that stood between her and the realization of her dream was Austria-Hungary. If she could be humbled her object would be achieved.

Austria-Hungary too regarded Serbia as her chief enemy. The existence of an independent Serbia talking of pan-Slavism and dreaming of a Greater Serbia, was a perpetual source of nuisance to the solidarity of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. A large number of Slavs within her empire, pining to join Serbia and amenable to Serbian propaganda, were a constant headache to her. Moreover, it was Serbia which stood in the way of the realization of Austrian designs of expansion as far as Salonika and even Constantinople. Hence the cry was that Serbia must be crushed.

The Balkan tangle was further complicated by the unqualified support of Russia to Serbia. Russia, a Slav nation, herself encouraged Serbian nationalism and pan-Slavism. She hoped that the Slavs, Slovenes, and Croats living in the Austro-Hungarian Empire would one day unite under the Serbian banner. Could Serbia not play the same part in the unification of the Slavs as was played by Piedmont in the case of Italian unity? Surely she could, with Russian support. So the crux of the Balkan problem lay in the rival aspirations of Austria-Hungary and Serbia supported by Russia.

Since the Bosnian annexation of 1908, both Russia and Serbia harboured the most evil designs against Austria. A bitter press campaign had been unleashed in Serbia where there was no censorship, inciting the Slav subjects of the Emperor to rise against him and to help Serbia in achieving a Greater Serbia or Yugoslavia. In addition, secret societies with the object of assassinating Austrian officials had been established in Serbia. Their membership transcended the Serbian borders and many young Slavs abroad were their active members. Several attempts had been made to assassinate high Austrian dignitaries including the heir to the Austrian throne.

The hostile Serbian press campaign and the subversive activities of the Slav terrorists had in turn caused extreme hostility in Austria and Hungary. Count Berchtold, the Austrian Foreign Minister, and Count Stephen Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, were itching to have an opportunity to crush and silence Serbian nationalism for ever.

Nor was the conflict in the Balkans confined to Austria-Hungary, Russia and Serbia. The relations between Austria and Rumania were also strained and had almost reached a breaking point. The cause of friction was the maltreatment of the Rumanians in Hungary and Count Tisza was mainly responsible for their oppression. As a result of the suppression of their brethren in Hungary, there was great unrest and anti-Hungarian feeling in Rumania. Consequently, both Germany and Austria-Hungary were perturbed lest Rumania which had friendly relations with them, might forsake her allegiance to the Triple Alliance.

The Balkan problem was further complicated by the fact that Germany had been expanding her influence in the Ottoman Empire. Her generals were training the Turkish armies and she had obtained valuable economic concessions from the Sultan. Her Turkish policy, particularly the construction of the Berlin-Baghdad Railway, was bitterly resented by Russia.

Moreover, both Austria-Hungary and Germany had been trying to isolate Serbia in the Balkans. Rumania and Bulgaria had kings of German descent, and the Queen of Greece was a German Princess. The only country which was out of their fold and was hostile to them was Serbia. Her extinction would put an end to pan-Slavism and open the way to Salonika and Constantinople. The whole of the Balkan peninsula would be

in their grip. Russians as allies and kinsmen of the Serbs could be bullied into submission as they had been in 1908. So the Austrian statesmen waited for a suitable occasion to achieve their objective.

(7) **The Immediate Cause—The murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, 28 June, 1914.** The Slav terrorist activity was responsible for the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his consort in the streets of Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia. The assassin, Gavrilo Princip, a Bosnian revolutionary, was an Austrian subject, but Slav by race. A storm of indignation broke out in Austria-Hungary and a bitter anti-Serbian propaganda was unleashed. Serbian hostility was the root cause of the tragedy and Serbia was accused of the conspiracy to murder the heir to the Austrian throne.

Historical research in recent times has tried to prove that the assassin and his accomplices had had their training in Belgrade and they used Serbian weapons and were members of the Serbian secret terrorist society of 'Black Hand', though in 1914, it was difficult to put the blame on Serbia and it was only a surmise that she was implicated in the murder. Even the Austrian investigation of the crime absolved Serbia of any complicity in 1914.

However, to the anti-Serbian party in Austria headed by Count Berchtold, no better occasion than this could present itself to have a final reckoning with Serbia. "Politically, the murder of the Archduke served admirably the purpose of the War party at Vienna."

The news of the dastardly murder of the Archduke and his consort cast a gloom over all Europe. It was unequivocally condemned by the Great Powers. But at the same time there was apprehension that it might lead to a war between Austria-Hungary and Serbia since the feelings between the two had been running high. Such a catastrophe would certainly bring in Russia and was very likely to spread to other European countries, which were bound to each other by alliances. Hence there was feverish diplomatic activity to "localize" the conflict.

Diplomatic Activity in European Capitals

Austrian Attitude. Berchtold had already decided to crush Serbia. He would not miss the opportunity. He also knew what the implications of a war with Serbia would be. Russian intervention was certain. So he wanted to arm himself with the German

promise of support before he took the next step against Serbia. He prepared a memorandum for the Kaiser and the Austrian Ambassador had secret meetings with him at Potsdam on the 5 and 6 July. The Kaiser, a great personal friend of the murdered prince, was flabbergasted and was greatly moved by the Emperor Francis Joseph's appeal for support against Serbia. Moreover, the Kaiser would not let down his only ally in Europe and so he gave a "blank cheque" to Austria. He was certainly aware of the fact that a war between Austria and Serbia would mean a war with Russia also, because Serge Sazonov, the Russian Foreign Minister had publicly announced that, "Under no pretext would Russia admit an Austrian aggression against Serbia".

The Austrian Ultimatum to Serbia (23 July, 1914). Having obtained the unqualified support of Germany, Berchtold won over his colleagues in the cabinet to his point of view and sent an ultimatum to Serbia on 23 July, to be accepted within 48 hours. Serbia was accused of violating the solemn promise "to live on good neighbourly terms" given in 1909.

In the "ten point" ultimatum, Austria had demanded a guarantee of good behaviour in the future, dissolution of secret societies with the collaboration of Austrian officials and immediate suppression of anti-Austrian propaganda.

The Serbian government sent a judicious and conciliatory reply on the 25th accepting 8 points out of 10 and appealed to Austria to refer the disputed points either to the International Court of Justice at the Hague or to an International Conference. Simultaneously, in view of the tense situation, Serbia issued orders for mobilization. Austria regarded the Serbian reply as "evasive" and unsatisfactory and ordered partial mobilization. When the Serbian reply was shown to the Kaiser he remarked that there was no cause for war now.

Russian and French attitude—French support to Russia.

Russia was an ally of Serbia and watched the political developments in Austria with great anxiety. Sazonov had already warned Austria on 18th July that she would stand by Serbia if Austria declared a war on her. Poincare, the French President and Viviani, the French Premier were on a friendly visit to Russia from 20 to 23 July and they affirmed French support to Russia in the crisis. Poincare remarked to the Austrian ambassador in Russia, "Serbia has very warm friends in the Russian people, and

Russia has an ally, France." He told Sazonov to be firm and promised all support. But both the Tsar and Sazonov did not want a war and on the 28th sent a note to Austria suggesting friendly discussions on the Austro-Serbian dispute. Austria rejected the offer. On July 29th, on hearing the news of the declaration of war on Serbia by Austria, Russia got ready for mobilization.

The British Attitude. Throughout the period of suspense, the British attitude was one of watchfulness and preparedness. Consequently, the British fleet was not dispersed on the 26th after the annual manoeuvres which were being performed at this time in the North Sea.

On the 27th Sir Edward Grey, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs proposed a Four-Power Conference of Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy, to prevent further complications and deterioration in international relations. But the Kaiser's reaction was not favourable because he had a bitter experience of such conferences at Algeiras (1906).

Grey then asked Germany to advise moderation to Austria and to restrain her "from a foolhardy policy". He strongly recommended that the dispute should be "localized" between Austria and Serbia.

The Crisis deepens—War certain

While diplomatic notes were being exchanged among the Great Powers, Berchtold precipitated the crisis and declared war on Serbia on 28th July "to cut the ground from any attempt at intervention".

On hearing the news of the Austrian declaration of war on Serbia, the Tsar agreed to mobilize Russian forces.

Last-minute Effort by the Kaiser (29 July). The crisis was deepening and Europe was heading towards a catastrophe. The Kaiser made a last-minute effort to localize the conflict. He told Bethmann Hollweg, the German Chancellor, to advise Austria to have direct talks with Russia. But when there was no response, the Chancellor wired to the German ambassador at Vienna: "As an ally we must refuse to be drawn into a world conflagration, because Austria does not respect our advice. Tell Berchtold with all emphasis and great seriousness." Berchtold ignored the warning. He was certain of German support in the struggle.

Meanwhile the Kaiser also sent a telegram to the Tsar imploring him to stop general mobilization. On its receipt, the Tsar agreed to order only partial mobilization, but on Sazonov's insistence, on the 30th he renewed the order for general mobilization. Russian mobilization meant a war between Russia and Austria which in turn meant a war between Germany and Russia.

German ultimatum to Russia and France. On the 31st July, Germany sent an ultimatum to Russia demanding her demobilization within twelve hours. Russia ignored it. A similar ultimatum was sent to France demanding her neutrality in a Russo-German war. She was given 18 hours to reply. France reserved the right of freedom of action. Meanwhile Germany also ordered general mobilization.

On Russian refusal to comply with the German ultimatum, Germany declared war on Russia.

Meanwhile on the 29th, Germany tried to secure British neutrality in the event of a Franco-German war. Germany promised to respect the territorial integrity of France, but not of her colonies. The British reply was firm and dignified. Grey replied on the 30th, "It would be a disgrace for us to make this bargain with Germany at the expense of France, a disgrace from which the good name of the country would never recover".

The Issue of Belgian Neutrality. On the 31st Grey demanded an assurance from France and Germany that if hostilities broke out between them, they should respect the neutrality of Belgium. France replied in the affirmative, but Germany gave an evasive reply. In return Germany asked Great Britain if she would remain neutral in case Belgian neutrality was respected. Grey did not give a definite reply.

On the 2nd August the threat of war between Germany and France grew very grave and France asked Great Britain if she would support her. Great Britain could not give a categorical reply, but assured France that she would protect her northern coast-line against any possible German aggression by sea. Grey could not categorically commit the support of Britain in a general war without the approval of Parliament.

On the 3rd August Germany declared war on France. Germany sent an ultimatum to Belgium demanding passage for German troops through her territory. Belgium rejected it. The Germans therefore violated Belgian neutrality and marched their troops

into it. Grey's hands were strengthened now and on the 4th, Great Britain declared war on Germany. Other great and small Powers also joined it later. Japan declared war on Germany on 23rd August and Turkey joined the Central Powers (Germany and Austria) on the 29th October and declared war on Russia. On the 5th November, England and France also declared war on Turkey.

WHO WAS TO BLAME?

The First World War had broken out in its naked fury in spite of the assertion that "no nation willed the war and statesmen blundered into it rather than sought it". It would be interesting to try to apportion the blame for causing the war.

(1) **Austrian Responsibility.** Count Berchtold, the Foreign Minister of Austria, was certainly the immediate villain of the piece. He exploited the situation created by the murder of the Archduke to crush Serbia, the inveterate enemy of Austria in the Balkans. Firstly, he assured himself of the Kaiser's unqualified support. Secondly, he sent a strongly worded ultimatum to Serbia convinced that it would be rejected by her. Thirdly, when he found the Kaiser's attitude getting lukewarm on receipt of the Serbian reply, he precipitated the crisis by declaring war on Serbia on the 28th July and, finally, he ignored the last minute warning of the German Chancellor.

(2) **Russian Responsibility.** Russia too must share the blame. If the general mobilization in Russia had been halted, perhaps the efforts of the Great Powers to localize the conflict might have succeeded. Russia was also smarting under her loss of prestige in 1909.

(3) **German Responsibility.** Germany could not escape the responsibility for causing the war. The Kaiser's 'blank cheque' to Austria on the 6th July was a major factor in allowing the crisis to deepen into a world-wide conflict. Alone, Austria would have thought twice before embarking on a mad project of a war with Serbia and Russia. The Kaiser knew full well that a war between Austria and Serbia would mean a war with Russia too and hence it was a blunder of great magnitude to extend unqualified support to a Power which was bent upon wreaking her vengeance on Serbia.

Then again Germany was primarily responsible for forcing Great Britain to enter the war. She would not respect the neutrality of Belgium. It is problematic whether Great Britain would have remained neutral, had Germany given an assurance to respect Belgian neutrality. She was far too deeply committed to protect the French coast-line in the north. She would probably have been forced to join the struggle in any case. But the violation of Belgian neutrality made it certain that she would join the conflict.

(4) **British Responsibility.** If Great Britain had at the beginning of the crisis made it categorically clear to Germany that a war with France would mean a war with Great Britain, perhaps the Kaiser might have acted more cautiously. The indecision of the British cabinet in assuring full support to France on the 2nd August, lulled Germany into the belief that Great Britain would remain neutral after all, though the delay was due to the fact that Great Britain could not commit herself to unqualified support of France without the approval of her Parliament. The probable course of events in Britain was not correctly gauged in Germany.

(5) **Serbian Responsibility.** Serbia too must share the responsibility of precipitating a world-wide conflict together with the Great Powers of Europe. Emboldened by the promise of Russian support in a conflict with Austria, she allowed unbridled anti-Austrian propaganda in the country and encouraged the violent activities of the terrorist society known as the "Black Hand". She was no doubt aware of the plot to murder the Archduke, but neither did she warn the Austrian government nor did she take any steps to prevent the execution of the plot. She could therefore be not absolved of the blame and responsibility of the murder of the heir to the Austrian throne which culminated in the First World War.

The fact remains that events moved too fast to allow any control over the mutual jealousies and hatreds of the Great Powers, which made the war inevitable. "The ambitions, the fears and the hatreds of the two groups had plunged the world in darkness." Grey very significantly remarked, "The lamps are going out all over Europe; we shall not see them lit again in our lifetime".

THE COURSE OF THE WAR

The war dragged on for four long years. We do not intend to discuss the details of each battle and campaign but would confine ourselves to a very brief survey of the war.

The Belligerents. Serbia, Russia, Belgium, France and Great Britain (the Allies) fought against Austria and Germany (the Central Powers). Later Rumania, Japan and Italy joined the Allies and Turkey and Bulgaria joined the Central Powers.

The War in 1914. Germany had to fight the war on two fronts, in the East against Russia and in the West against Great Britain and France. She did not expect the Russians to mobilize quickly, because of the slowness of the Russian administrative machinery. Therefore her plan of action was to first concentrate against France and try to speedily capture Paris and bring about a collapse of the Allies on the Western front. Russia could be dealt with later.

War on the Western Front. Consequently, large German armies poured into Belgium and within the month of August captured Liege, Brussels, Namur and Amiens. The stage was now set for an assault on Paris.

The battle of the Marne (6-12 September, 1914). Von Kluck, the Commander of the German First Army and Bulow, the Commander of the Second Army were to launch an attack on Paris.

Joffre, the Chief of the French staff, made elaborate preparations to halt the advance of the German armies and after a bitter and bloody battle on the Marne the Germans were forced to withdraw to the Aisne. Paris was saved, though the Germans were still deeply entrenched on French soil. In October the Germans captured Antwerp. Their next objective was Ypres which was heroically defended by the Allies. Throughout the winter trench warfare continued.

The Eastern Front. On the Eastern front the Germans met with greater success. The Russians, under Grand-Duke Nicholas as Commander-in-Chief, invaded both Germany and Austria. But the Germans under Hindenburg inflicted a crushing defeat on the Russians led by Samsonov at Tannenberg (26th August). The Germans further defeated the Russians under Rennenkampf by the Masurian lakes. In two battles the Russians suffered very

heavy casualties, but they indirectly contributed to the allied victory on the Marne because the Germans had to recall two Army Corps from the Western front to strengthen the Eastern front. This recall certainly weakened the German assault on Paris. Though beaten by the Germans, the Russians were more successful against the Austrians because they possessed the Austrian plan of campaign. They beat them at Lemberg (1st September) and Grodek and occupied most of Galicia.

German armies had to relieve pressure on Austria-Hungary. Hindenburg planned a 'diversion' on Warsaw to relieve Russian pressure on Cracow. The plan succeeded and Cracow was saved and the Russian "Steam roller" was stopped. Russian supplies were slow and defective, otherwise they might have continued their advance.

In October, Turkey joined the Central Powers and declared war on Russia. England and France also declared war on Turkey in November. Turkey's entry into the war completely isolated Russia. In order to help her the British made an unsuccessful attempt to capture the Gallipoli peninsula (November, 1914 to August, 1915). The British forces were inadequate to accomplish the task. They could not spare more forces for fear of weakening the Western front. However the British Commander, General Allenby, was more successful in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

The year 1914 ended in a very favourable position for the Germans both on the Western and Eastern fronts, though the German march on Paris was halted.

The War in 1915. As Moltke's plan of campaign against Paris had failed, he was replaced by Falkenhayn as Chief of the German Staff.

The German strategy in 1915 was influenced by two factors, namely, the entry of Turkey into the war (in the autumn of 1914) on the side of the Central Powers and that of Italy (1915) against them. Italy, a member of the Triple Alliance, did not join Germany and Austria as she held that they were not fighting a defensive war. On the other hand she joined the allies in 1915 because she had serious differences with Austria over Trieste and Trentino (Italian Irredenta).

Germany had now to strengthen both Turkey and Austria-Hungary.

The Eastern Front. The German victories on the Eastern

front continued. The Russians were completely routed by Mackensen and in August Warsaw was captured. The Russians were expelled from Poland. The Russian position was getting more and more precarious on account of heavy losses and gross inefficiency of the War department. The British failure in Gallipoli further worsened their condition.

In September, 1915, to add to their troubles, Bulgaria also joined the Central Powers.

On the South-eastern front Serbia was annihilated. The Italian invasion was repulsed but her entry into the war kept a considerable number of German soldiers engaged in Northern Italy, thus relieving German pressure on the Western front.

War on Sea. Throughout 1915 the Germans launched an indiscriminate submarine warfare. The British declared a naval blockade of the German coast. All German colonies were captured by the British.

The War in 1916

War on the Western front. By now Germany had realized that Great Britain was her chief enemy and not France or Russia and therefore she must be defeated. So the German plan of action was two-fold; firstly, to intensify the submarine warfare and sink British ships and, secondly, to strike hard on the Western front. Consequently, the Germans launched another big scale invasion of France, but they were defeated at Verdun by the French under Petain.

In July, the French and British launched a counter-offensive on the Somme. For the first time the British used tanks in the war. Their striking power completely surprised the Germans and contributed largely to the British success. In August, Hindenburg, who was regarded as a great hero by the Germans, replaced Falkenhayn as Chief of Staff to infuse new spirit into the German soldiers.

War on Sea. To counter the German submarine warfare, the British also intensified the naval blockade of Germany. To challenge this the German navy occasionally raided the British coast. But Admiral Beatty defeated the Germans at the battle of Dogger Bank and the German cruiser, "Blucher" was destroyed. At last the German navy ventured to come out of Kiel and fight the British navy. The battle off Jutland (31st May) followed.

It was indecisive and both sides suffered heavy losses. But the Germans regarded it as their victory, though after it their fleet never dared to encounter the British! The British further strengthened the naval blockade. This created some unpleasantness with America, but luckily it did not last long.

Eastern Front. On the Eastern front the Germans once again halted the Russian counter-offensive under Brussilov. In 1916, Rumania also declared war on Germany and Austria but she was badly beaten by Germany and Bucharest was captured and occupied by her.

The Kaiser had been sadly disillusioned by the British tenacity on the Western front. Consequently in December 1916, the Germans launched a "peace offensive" but were not willing to surrender their gains in Belgium and North France. The Allies refused to consider the proposal and the negotiations fell through and hostilities continued.

The War in 1917

The British blockade had begun to tell heavily on the economic condition of Germany. She began to feel the shortage of raw materials and even food. The situation in Germany was fraught with grave danger of an internal insurrection if she failed to break the blockade and bring the war to a speedy end. British naval power must be crushed.

U.S.A. enters the War. Therefore Germany further intensified submarine warfare, though she had given a promise to the U.S.A. in May 1916, to restrict it. Ignoring the promise she issued a warning on 31 January, 1917, to all neutrals that she would indiscriminately attack their shipping. The U.S.A. protested and when Germany continued to sink her ships, she declared war on Germany on 6th April. Her entry into the war was very significant and meant a great accession of strength to the Allies. Her vast resources of wealth, man power and material were now at their disposal and augmented their supplies and contributed decisively to their victory in the long run. The Germans, on the other hand, became more and more starved as the war progressed.

War on the Western front. On the Western front the Germans retired to the "Hindenburg Line" with strong fortifications and fighting was mostly confined to trench warfare.

The morale of the French soldiers was low and there was a

serious mutiny in the French army. Luckily Petain, the hero of Verdun, inspired their confidence and controlled it.

The Allies launched an offensive in Flanders under Haig and achieved partial success.

War on the Eastern front. Greece also joined the Allies and declared war on Turkey. The British were more successful against Turkey and captured Baghdad and Jerusalem.

The Russian Revolution and collapse

The political situation in Russia deteriorated fast consequent on the Russian defeats on the battlefield. The war was grossly mismanaged by the Tsar and his ministers who were accused of treachery. The soldiers and the people were seething with discontent and rose in revolt. On 15 March, 1917, the Tsar was forced to abdicate. He and his family were captured and later murdered by their captors. Russia was proclaimed a Republic. The Provisional Government led by Prince Lvov and Kerensky continued the war. But their efforts were in vain. In October 1917 they were swept aside by the rising tide of the Bolshevik Revolution under Lenin and Trotsky. The former became Prime Minister and the latter Commissar of Foreign Affairs. Russia withdrew from the war and made peace with Germany by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918).

The Russian collapse was a major tragedy for the Grand Alliance. War on the Eastern front came to an end and the Germans were now free to concentrate on the Western front.

The War in 1918

At the beginning of the year 1918, the allied position had considerably improved on account of American help in men and money. American soldiers poured into France by thousands. On the other hand, though Germany had to fight only on one front, her striking power was getting more and more depleted. Very soon there would be a shortage of man power and she would be faced with defeat. She was still strong and if she could beat the Allies in the next few weeks, victory could be hers. If the war was prolonged, defeat was certain. Therefore Ludendorff decided to stake everything on a massive offensive in the spring of 1918.

The Allies were prepared for it. They had now set a joint command under Marshal Foch, a cool, calm and seasoned soldier.

The Germans met with success in the initial stages and once again reached the Marne. But that was the end. They had exhausted themselves and when the Allied counter-offensive began in July 1918, the Germans were thrown back with heavy losses. On the 8th of August, regarded as the "Black Day" by the Germans, they were decisively defeated by Haig near Amiens.

The "Grand Offensive" was launched in September in Flanders. German casualties were very heavy in killed, wounded and prisoners. Her resistance was broken. News from the "home front" was equally disquieting. Germany was seething with revolt. The end of the war was after all in sight!

Germany's allies Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria were in no better predicament. The allied pressure forced them to surrender. Bulgaria asked for an armistice in September, Turkey and Austria in October. The news of Bulgaria's collapse broke German will power. Further blows awaited her and the allied advance, continued. Everything was lost for the Germans. Ludendorff advised his government to sue for peace.

The Armistice. On the 3rd October, the Germans made an offer of peace to President Wilson. But he turned it down. He would deal only with a people's government. The Germans again asked for an armistice on 6th November. It was signed on 11th November. The Kaiser had meanwhile abdicated on the 9th and fled to Holland.

The Great War was at an end!

THE CAUSES OF ALLIED VICTORY

It would be interesting to briefly study the causes of the Allied victory.

(1) **British naval supremacy.** The British navy not only carried out a successful blockade of Germany and starved her but also helped the Allies in conquering the German colonies and transporting American soldiers and supplies to the European theatre of war.

(2) **Entry of the U.S.A.** The timely assistance of the U.S.A. contributed largely to the Allied victory. The indiscriminate submarine warfare recommended by Tirpitz and Ludendorff brought America into the war and tilted the scales in favour of the Allies. Her immense resources were most welcome to the Allies.

(3) **The contribution of the Commonwealth.** The Commonwealth countries like Canada, Australia, New Zealand and India played a significant part in the Allied war effort and their resources in men and money were at the disposal of Great Britain.

(4) **Shortage of man power in Germany.** Germany had been bled white in the last four years. The flower of her manhood had been sacrificed to satisfy the lust of the Prussian war-lords. She could not withstand any more warfare. There were too few children to spare. On the Allied side they could rely on multitudes of American and Commonwealth soldiers.

(5) **Collapse of Austria-Hungary and Turkey.** The allies of Germany were faced with numerous internal troubles which finally brought about their fall. Both Austria-Hungary and Turkey were a great drain on the resources of Germany. In trying to help them she weakened herself and was to a large extent responsible for her own downfall.

Chapter 27

THE PEACE CONFERENCE

As the Great War progressed and caused greater and greater destruction and havoc and more and more casualties, the statesmen of Europe and the United States of America realized the urgency of bringing the war to a close. President Woodrow Wilson of the U.S.A. played a leading part in bringing about an armistice.

PREVIOUS PEACE ATTEMPTS

Woodrow Wilson's Proposal (February, 1916). As early as February, 1916, President Woodrow Wilson of the United States proposed the summoning of an international conference to offer "reasonable terms" of peace to Germany. These were not clearly defined. He also indicated that if Germany rejected the offer, the United States might join the war on the side of the Allies. Unfortunately this proposal did not evoke any favourable reaction among the belligerents. Hence nothing came out of it.

On 12 December, 1916, the Kaiser appealed to the United States government to bring about peace between the Central Powers and the Allies. But as the Germans did not mention any specific terms, and as they were in an advantageous position militarily, the Allies rejected the German offer.

On 18 December, 1916, President Wilson offered to mediate and asked the belligerents on what terms they would be prepared to lay down arms. He also suggested the setting up of a League of Nations to stop all wars in the future. The Allies were prepared to consider the offer if Germany surrendered Alsace and Lorraine to France and the Central Powers vacated aggression elsewhere and agreed to return their conquests and territorial readjustment was made to their satisfaction. Wilson in his speech said: "The war must not be ended by any Peace of the ordinary type. It must

be a Peace worth guaranteeing and preserving—a Peace without victory.” This was very much criticized by the Allies who would not think of a “Peace without victory”, having been subjected to so much strain and suffering!

Germany too rejected the offer and intensified indiscriminate submarine warfare. The loss to American shipping was considerable and the United States broke off diplomatic relations with Germany on 3 February, 1917 and declared war on her on 6th April.

Austrian Bid for Peace (February to June, 1917). Count Czernin, the new Foreign Minister of Austria, prevailed upon the new Emperor Charles to try for peace before America actually jumped into the arena. Austrian morale was cracking and the sooner peace was made the better. Her internal situation was extremely precarious and the subject races were seething with discontent. A revolution was imminent. The Kaiser would not support any such move. Thereupon Austria decided to act unilaterally and approached the Allies through Prince Sixtus of Bourbon Parma, a cousin of the Emperor. But the negotiations fell through on account of the Italian insistence on acquiring Trieste.

✓ **WILSON'S “FOURTEEN POINTS” (8 JANUARY, 1918)**

Another attempt was made by Wilson to bring about an armistice on the basis of his famous “Fourteen Points” which *inter alia* proposed the setting up of a League of Nations, territorial readjustments on the basis of national self-determination, limitation of armaments, no secret treaties, freedom of the seas, etc.

Germany rejected these terms also and launched her final offensive against the Allies in the spring of 1918. It failed. The Allied counter-offensive in August swept the Germans off their feet and broke up their resistance. On other sectors too the Central Powers were hopelessly defeated. Bulgaria cracked in September and on the 29th asked for an armistice. Turkey surrendered on the 30th October and Austria on the 3rd November.

On hearing the news of Bulgarian surrender even Ludendorff broke down and on the 1st October, recommended to his government to ask for an armistice. But Wilson made it clear to the Germans, that the Allies would deal only with a democratic

government representing the people and not with the Kaiser. So the war dragged on. The internal condition in Germany deteriorated. A revolt against the Kaiser was likely to break out any moment. On the 3rd November, there was a naval mutiny at Kiel and the rebellion spread to other German cities. Finding further resistance impossible, the Kaiser abdicated and fled to Holland on the 9th. A Provisional Government proclaimed Germany a Republic. Meanwhile on the 6th the Germans had approached Marshal Foch, and agreed to surrender on the basis of Wilson's Fourteen Points. The Allies granted her an armistice on the following terms.

Terms of the Armistice with Germany

(1) Germany surrendered Alsace and Lorraine to France and evacuated all French and Belgian territories. She withdrew to the Rhine.

(2) The German fleet surrendered to the Allies and was interned at Scapa Flow.

(3) She set free all prisoners of war. —

(4) She also surrendered a number of guns and other armaments.

(5) The Treaties of Bucharest (with Rumania) and Brest-Litovsk (with Russia) were declared null and void.

(6) She agreed to territorial readjustment.

Germany accepted the terms and signed the armistice on 11 November, 1918 and at 11 A.M. the war came to an end.

EUROPE IN 1918-19

Europe had been completely ravished by the horrors of the war. The destruction was colossal. Innumerable cities had been destroyed and thousands of families had been uprooted from their ancestral homes. Millions of people had been killed or maimed. Starvation, pestilence and disease stared naked into the eyes of those who had survived death. It was a miracle that they had kept their body and soul together. On account of the naval blockade of Germany, there was acute shortage of food in Europe. The problem of feeding millions of hungry and semi-starved people was gigantic and urgent.

To add to the economic misery of the people, revolutions had

broken out in many European countries. The Hohenzollern, Hapsburg and Ottoman Empires had been overthrown and on their ruins revolutionary republican governments were struggling to maintain law and order and to feed the teeming millions.

In their darkest hour, the people of Europe had only one ray of hope and the "idealist" President of the United States was their symbol of hope and faith. "Western Europe looked for its salvation to Woodrow Wilson," just as Russia looked up to Lenin.

The devastation in the allied countries was equally great. But they had the consolation of winning the War. Yet there was an atmosphere of deep resentment and vindictiveness against Germany. They held her guilty of causing the War and the cry, "the enemy must be made to pay" was on everybody's lips. The man in the street, could only think in terms of vengeance and not in terms of a "peace without victory".

✓ THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS (1919)

It was in this atmosphere of sheer desperation and pestilence on the one side and anger and revenge on the other that the Peace Conference was summoned in Paris. The economic and political conditions of Europe were bound to influence its deliberations. It was therefore unfortunate that Paris was selected as the venue of the Conference. Paris symbolized the horrors of war and bore numerous scars and wounds and was therefore not a suitable place wherein to talk about peace. It was seething with the cry of revenge. "In this inflamed atmosphere of Paris the ideals of appeasement fought an unequal battle with those of retribution."

The Inauguration of the Conference—the Task before the Delegates

Seventy delegates representing the countries which had brought about the collapse of Germany and her allies assembled in Paris. With each delegation there were numerous advisers, assistants and clerks. Of these the Big Four, Woodrow Wilson of the United States, Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Clemenceau, the Premier of France and Orlando, Prime Minister of Italy, were the most outstanding and they played a dominant role in working out the terms of peace.

The Conference was inaugurated by M. Poincare, the President

of France, on 18 January, 1919 and Georges Clemenceau, the Premier of France, was elected its President.

The deliberations of the Conference went on up to the end of April. On the 7th May, the draft treaty was presented to the German delegates who had been specially summoned on the 29th April. For the next 6 weeks or so there was an interchange of 'Notes' between them and the Conference. They were not allowed to have direct talks. Clemenceau got tired of the inordinate delay taken by the Germans in accepting the terms and on the 22nd June issued an ultimatum to them to accept them within 24 hours.

They protested, but signed the Treaty on 28 June, 1919 in the famous Hall of Mirrors in the palace of Versailles where in 1871 the German Empire had been proclaimed by the victorious Prussians. It was an irony of fate that in that very room "where Royalist Germany had recorded her victory, republican Germany was to record her defeat". The German plenipotentiaries, Muller and Bell appended their signatures to the Treaty of Versailles and it was hoped that an era of peace would dawn.

Separate peace treaties were signed with Austria (Treaty of St. Germain, 10 September, 1919); with Hungary (Treaty of Trianon 4 June, 1920); with Bulgaria (Treaty of Neuilly on 27 January, 1919); and with Turkey (Treaty of Sevres on 10 August, 1920). The last named was never ratified and was rejected by the Turks.

The deliberations of the Conference were dominated by the "Big Four", namely the representatives of the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and Italy.

The Attitude of the "Big Four"

(1) **The U.S.A. (President Wilson).** President Wilson represented his country at the Conference and played a very significant role in its deliberations. He was an idealist and believed in granting terms of peace based on equality and justice, nay, even generosity.

He represented the country which demanded no territorial gains or reparation and which to a large degree was responsible for the Allied victory. He could therefore take a very detached view at the Conference. The United States was still strong in men, money and material whereas other Allied nations had suffered immensely like Germany. Wilson could therefore speak from a

position of strength as well. Therefore he was listened to with great respect. Moreover Germany had applied for armistice on the basis of his "Fourteen Points" and he had therefore a moral obligation to see that the Allies based their peace proposals on them and did not impugn them. Wilson was apparently strong, but he suffered from an inherent internal weakness. He was a Democrat and the American Senate which had the final say in foreign affairs was dominated by Republicans. Any settlement made by him had to be approved by a Republican dominated Senate. He made the mistake of not bringing any representative of the Republican Party in his delegation and therefore whatever he did at the Conference was rejected by the Senate. The U.S.A. refused to ratify the Peace Treaty and went back to a position of non-interference in European matters.

(2) **Great Britain (Lloyd George)**. Lloyd George, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, was a seasoned statesman and a great orator. He was a liberal at heart and left to himself might have agreed to offer less harsh terms to Germany than those that were actually imposed on her. But his hands were tied by the verdict of the recent general elections in England. He had been returned to power on the tacit understanding that he would demand compensation from Germany for the havoc done by the War. Even when the Conference was in session members of Parliament wrote to him reminding him of his election pledges.

(3) **France (Clemenceau)**. Georges Clemenceau (the Tiger), Premier of France, was perhaps the shrewdest and sharpest statesman at the Conference. He knew the interests of his country well and therefore pursued them with vigour, tact and sometimes, cynicism. He wanted security from German aggression in the future and a heavy war indemnity to rebuild France.

(4) **Italy (Orlando)**. Italy took a very narrow nationalist point of view. She insisted on the implementation of the terms of the secret Treaty of London (26 April, 1915) and demanded Austrian territory in Istria and Dalmatia.

In short, we might say that there were "two conflicting currents of feelings", amongst the Allied countries. Firstly, there was the idealist feeling which was symbolized by President Wilson. Supporters of this line of thought had three objects in view: firstly, to smash Prussian militarism; secondly, to divide Europe on a national basis and, thirdly, to devise a machinery to prevent all

future wars. The second current was represented mostly by France and her supporters. They were imbued with a feeling of bitterness and hatred bred by the War and were determined to crush German militarism.

The Task and Aims of the Conference

The Peace Conference had to deal with the following problems:

- (1) To redraw the political map of Europe, consequent on the fall of the Hohenzollern, Hapsburg and Ottoman Empires.
- (2) To decide the future of the German colonies and outlying Turkish provinces.
- (3) To determine what indemnity Germany and her allies should pay to the victors.
- (4) To limit armaments.
- (5) To devise a machinery, a 'Concert of Europe' to eliminate all possible wars in the future and to settle international disputes peacefully and amicably.

Aims. The Allies had fought the War ostensibly to out-law all wars in the future and "to make the world safe for democracy." How was this noble aim to be achieved? How were the hopes of millions of people who had suffered incredibly during the last four years to be realized?

The Basis of Peace

The Peace was to be based on the "Fourteen Points" of Wilson.

(1) **The Covenant of the League of Nations.** The first principle of the Peace was the foundation of a League of Nations. (For details see the next chapter).

(2) **The System of Mandates.** Hitherto it had been the practice for the victors to annex the territories conquered from their foes. But now it was laid down that there would be no such annexations. Territories of the vanquished countries would be taken over by the League of Nations and they would be administered in trust for the League by one of the Great Powers, which would be called the "Mandatory" Power. Such territories were not to be exploited for the benefit of the Mandatory Power, but were to be developed and governed in the interests of the

people. "The well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilization."

(3) **The Principle of National Self-determination.** Wilson was a staunch supporter of the principle of National Self-determination and advocated the establishment of "Nation States" as far as possible. In disputed areas plebiscites were held to determine the wishes of the people.

This principle was particularly noticeable in the treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey and was responsible for the rise of nation States like Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia on the ruins of the Hapsburg and Turkish Empires. It largely put an end to the age-old rivalries and jealousies of the multiple races which inhabited the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Balkans and promised an era of peace and tranquillity to the people.

Consequently, "the new political frontiers of Europe are Wilsonian and so drawn that three per cent only of the total population of the continent live under alien rule".

The Terms of Peace

A. TERRITORIAL READJUSTMENTS IN EUROPE

(1) France regained Alsace and Lorraine. But she was not satisfied with their annexation. She claimed the Rhineland in order to feel more secure against any possible German aggression in the future. There were sharp differences between Clemenceau and Wilson and finally France was persuaded to withdraw her claim. Great Britain and U.S.A. gave her a guarantee of support if Germany attacked her.

(2) The Saar Basin was given to France for a period of 15 years as part of reparation. The District of Saar was to be administered by an International Commission under the League of Nations. After 15 years a plebiscite would decide its future (Its population was predominantly German and therefore in 1935 it voted for reunion with Germany).

(3) The Kiel Canal Zone was neutralized and de-militarized.

(4) The Rhine was also demilitarized for ever and no German fortifications were to be constructed in that region. The Allied armies were given the right of occupying the Rhine province.

These demilitarized zones were created to give a sense of security to France, but with the rise of Hitler, Germany repudiated these

clauses and again fortified them. Great Britain and U.S.A. had given France a guarantee to safeguard her frontiers with Germany, but when the American Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles, this guarantee also became inoperative and France felt gravely let down by her.

(5) To give a greater sense of security to France, an International Commission was to control German ports, railways and waterways of international importance and, consequently, a Rhine Commission also was established.

(6) Belgium acquired the districts of Eupen, Moresnet, and Malmedy. A plebiscite was held in the last named district.

(7) Luxemburg became independent. Both Belgium and Luxemburg were neutralized.

(8) Germany retained Holstein and South Schleswig which were predominantly German in population. In Central and North Schleswig plebiscites were held; the former voted for Germany and the latter for Denmark.

(9) Poland presented a very difficult problem. During the war the French had already supported the cause of an independent Poland. But it had been dismembered so badly in the past that its resurrection was a difficult problem. As far as possible the Poland of the 18th century was revived. Therefore Germany had to give Posen and West Prussia and Austria ceded Galicja. Upper Silesia was divided between Poland and Germany after a plebiscite. She was also given a "Corridor" (the Polish Corridor) to give her access to the sea. This stipulation divided main German territories from East Prussia and was a constant eyesore to the Germans. (Germany reconciled herself to the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, but she could never be reconciled to her division in the East. In 1939, Hitler's demand on Poland for the surrender of the 'corridor' was the immediate cause of the Second World War).

(10) *The Free City of Danzig*. Danzig at the mouth of the Vistula "the river which carries commerce, and therefore the life-blood of Poland" was created a "Free City" under the League, with its foreign policy and customs controlled by Poland.

(11) Austria was considerably reduced in size and population and was deprived of access to the sea. She was not allowed to unite with Germany, without the approval and consent of the League of Nations. (Hitler annexed it in 1938.)

(12) Hungary too was created a separate State, but she lost much of her territory to Yugoslavia and Rumania.

(13) Czechoslovakia, a new State comprising Bohemia and Moravia, was created. She was assigned Sudetenland also which contained a large majority of Germans. (Hitler ultimately annexed it and later the whole of Czechoslovakia.)

(14) Italy got Tyrol.

(15) Rumania was considerably enlarged by the acquisition of Transylvania from Hungary, Bukovina from Austria and Bessarabia from Russia.

(16) Yugoslavia, a new State consisted of old Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia and Dalmatia.

(17) By the Treaty of Neuilly, Bulgaria ceded Strumnitza to Yugoslavia and Macedonia to Greece.

The Treaty of Sevres (10 August, 1920)

The Treaty of Sevres concluded with Turkey was never implemented as the Turks refused to ratify it and the "National Turks" rose in revolt under Mustafa Kemal to turn the Greeks out of Turkish territory. In the end the Nationalist Turks also abolished both the Sultanate and the Caliphate and proclaimed Turkey a Republic under the Presidency of Mustafa Kemal.

Hence the terms of the Treaty of Sevres given below are only of academic interest.

- (a) Constantinople remained with Turkey. ✓
- (b) The Straits were neutralized and the adjoining territory was demilitarized. ✓
- (c) The Turkish provinces of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia were taken away from her and were placed as 'Mandates' under the Great Powers. Syria was given to France and Palestine and Mesopotamia to Great Britain.
- (d) Greece acquired Macedonia and Thrace together with Smyrna and a large strip of Asia Minor and the Dodecanese islands.
- (e) Egypt and Arabia became independent kingdoms.

Turco-Greek War—The Treaty of Lausanne (24 July, 1923)

The Turks as stated earlier revolted against Greek occupation of a part of their motherland and drove them out. The Turco-

Greek War almost led to hostilities between Turkey and Great Britain, but luckily a war was averted.

By the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July, 1923) the following territorial changes were agreed to:

- (1) Greece lost Eastern Thrace and Adrianople.
- (2) Turkey renounced her claim on Egypt, Sudan, Cyprus, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Arabia.
- (3) The system of "capitulations" was abolished and Turkey promised to carry out judicial reforms. Capitulations were agreements by which the Porte had conferred special privileges and right of extraterritoriality on foreign governments. Under these conventions the "alien" subjects of the Sultan were tried in law courts presided over by judges appointed by foreign governments.
- (4) The Straits were neutralized and free passage was guaranteed to all ships. The coastline on both sides was constituted into a demilitarized zone under the League of Nations. (In 1936 with the consent of the League, the Straits were refortified.)

B. THE GERMAN COLONIES AND TURKISH PROVINCES

All the German colonies in Africa and Asia were confiscated and her economic privileges in Morocco, Siam and China were abrogated.

Turkey too renounced her claims on the out-lying provinces.

According to the new conception of the Mandatory System, to which allusion has been made earlier, the German and Turkish possessions were taken over by the League of Nations. The League divided them into three classes, A, B and C, according to their political and economic development. Turkish provinces like Syria, Mesopotamia and Palestine were advanced politically, economically and culturally and were consequently categorized as 'A' class. German colonies in East Africa, Togoland and Cameroon were classified as 'B' class. German South-West Africa and German Islands in the Pacific were put in the 'C' class.

The differences between the 'B' and 'C' classes were mainly two-fold. 'B' class Mandated territories were not to be exploited in the interests of the Mandatory Power and were to be given equal opportunity for trade and commerce and, secondly, they could

not become integral parts of the Mandatory Power. 'C' class states were sparsely populated and less developed and so they could be administered as integral parts of the Mandatory Power. But the Mandatory Power had to work for the moral and material welfare of the people and abolish slavery, trafficking in women and children and trade in prohibited drugs and narcotics.

In all classes of Mandates, the Mandatory Power had to submit an annual report to the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. Under the Mandatory System described above, the German colonies and Turkish provinces were distributed as below:

'C' Class Mandates

- (1) German South-West Africa was assigned to "His Britannic Majesty", but in actual practice, it was to be administered by the Union of South Africa.
- (2) The Pacific islands north of the Equator, like the Marshall Islands, Caroline, Pelew, Ladrone, and Kiao Chau were assigned to Japan.
- (3) Australia got the Bismarck Archipelago, German New Guinea and the Solomon Islands.
- (4) New Zealand got German Samoa.
- (5) Nauru was assigned to the British.

'B' Class Mandates

- (1) German East Africa was divided between Great Britain and Belgium. The former got Tanganyika and the latter Ruanda-Urundi and the territory round Lake Kivu.
- (2) Togoland was divided between Great Britain and France. The former got one-third of the territory bordering on the Gold Coast and the remainder went to France.
- (3) Cameroons was also divided between Great Britain and France.

'A' Class Mandates (former Turkish Provinces)

- (1) Great Britain was assigned Palestine and Mesopotamia.
- (2) France got Syria.

G. THE REPARATIONS

Both France and Great Britain wanted Germany to pay the entire cost of the War irrespective of her capacity to shoulder this

heavy financial burden when she herself had exhausted all her resources in fighting the War. In Great Britain, as stated earlier, the General Elections had been fought on the issue of claiming reparations from Germany and Lloyd George was bound by the verdict of the electorate. The French and British laid their claims very high and the "business men" demanded 24 thousand million pounds as indemnity for destruction of public and private property and as compensation to widows and orphans.

Wilson, throughout, advised moderation and insisted that the demand for reparations did not form a part of the terms of the armistice. He vehemently opposed it but was finally compelled to accept the following compromise:

- (1) Germany should pay for the reconstruction of civilian property and restoration of devastated areas and also war pensions to widows.
- (2) A Reparation Commission was set up to determine the amount and mode of payment.
- (3) Germany surrendered all her merchant ships of over 1,600 tonnage.
- (4) She also paid annual tributes of coal.
- (5) The Saar Basin was occupied by the French for 15 years.
- (6) Austria and Bulgaria too had to pay war indemnities. The amount was to be determined by the Reparation Commission.

D. DISARMAMENT

Germany

- (a) In order to reduce the possibility of any aggression by Germany in the future, her army was demobilized and conscription was abolished. The future German army was restricted to 100,000 soldiers.
- (b) The production of armaments was to be strictly controlled.
- (c) The power of the German staff was restricted.
- (d) 'Demilitarized' zones were created on the Rhine and the Kiel.
- (e) Her navy was considerably reduced and she was not allowed to keep any submarines. (The German navy already interned at Scapa Flow scuttled itself to avoid falling into British hands.)

Austria. The Austrian army was reduced to 30,000 men.

Hungary. The Hungarian army was limited to 35,000 soldiers.

Bulgaria. Her army was reduced to 20,000.

In addition compulsory military service was abolished in all the enemy states. It was hoped that the scheme of disarmament applied to the Central Powers would be extended to all countries. But there was no agreement on this score.

E. GENERAL—THE PENAL CLAUSES

The Allies held the Kaiser responsible for the War and wanted to try him as a war criminal. They demanded his extradition from the Dutch government, but it refused to surrender him and so the proposal fell through.

The Allies also wanted to try the Prussian war lords as his accomplices, but finally the proposal was dropped.

These penal clauses, however, showed the vindictive temper of the Allies.

✓ *Criticism of the Treaty of Versailles*

The hope that the Treaty of Versailles would be based on equality, justice and fair play was belied. The aim of "making the world safe for democracy" was not realized, because the treaty-makers humiliated and insulted Germany, a country, populated by proud, honourable and very intelligent people. They were sooner or later bound to revolt against the derogatory clauses of the treaty. Hence the Treaty of Versailles was not expected to maintain peace for long in spite of the reduction in armaments, demilitarized zones and heavy reparation. A resurrected Germany would demand peace with honour. The Treaty of Versailles was supposed to usher in an era of peace, but from the very beginning it had obnoxious germs of future warfare.

Demerits. (1) The Treaty was unduly harsh to a Republican Germany. Having overthrown the Imperialist government, she deserved milder terms. The attitude of the Allies, particularly of France, was rather vindictive as was shown by her demand of the Rhine frontier and heavy reparation.

(2) Germany could bear the loss of Alsace and Lorraine, but she could never reconcile herself to her eastern frontier. German national self-respect could never tolerate the separation of East Prussia from the mainland of Germany by the Polish 'corridor'.

It was an outrage on her national honour and she was bound to upset this provision of the Treaty in the long run.

(3) To hand over a few million Germans of Sudetenland to Czechoslovakia was unjust and unfair and had the seeds of future strife in it.

(4) She was subjected to great humiliation by the reduction of her armaments and the restrictions on her General Staff.

(5) The imposition of reparations was contrary to the terms of the armistice and the heavy amount that Germany was expected to pay would have completely ruined her. The exorbitant demands of the Allies in this respect naturally roused bitter indignation in Germany and finally forced her to repudiate her financial obligations.

(6) The Allies disarmed Germany and her allies, but failed to agree upon a scheme of general disarmament. Hence after a lull, the race for armaments went on.

(7) Austria by her reduction in size and population became a poor State economically and no provision was made for her economic development. She was forbidden to unite with Germany.

(8) Russia had played an important part in the early stages of the war. Therefore an understanding should have been reached with Bolshevik Russia.

(9) The ambitions of Italy and Yugoslavia in the Adriatic Zone and of Greece in Turkey did not augur well for peace.

Merits. (1) The establishment of national states in Central and South-Eastern Europe on the principle of 'self-determination' was a grand achievement and fulfilled the aspirations of the subject races of the Emperor and the Porte.

(2) The holding of plebiscites in disputed areas was a welcome device to adjust frontiers according to the wishes of the people.

(3) The introduction of the Mandatory System was a great improvement on the past practice of out-right annexation by the victors. It caused less heart burning among the vanquished states and ensured the development of colonies in the interests of the people themselves.

(4) Minorities in states like Czechoslovakia and Poland were guaranteed protection by special treaties.

(5) The establishment of the League of Nations, to settle international disputes, might ensure peace in the future provided the small and great powers worked in a spirit of co-operation and amity.

The Peace of Versailles marked the end of an era of international rivalry and hostility, like the Vienna Settlement of 1815. Would the peace promised by it last longer than the one established after the downfall of Napoleon? Only the future could answer the question! The contemporary verdict on the Treaty might be summed up in the following words: "The statesmen had not been equal to the grandeur of events. They had made a peace which was no peace." *

Chapter 28

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WHEN THE Great War was being fought with all its fury, the leaders of the Allied Powers were claiming that the War was being fought to end war. Woodrow Wilson, the President of the United States of America who held out hopes of peace to humanity proposed the setting up of an international agency to prevent all wars in the future. So when he issued his famous "Fourteen Points" which formed the basis of the armistice between the Allies and Germany, he incorporated the idea of a League of Nations in them.

Wilson was fairly convinced that only a world organization like the one suggested by him could stop all future wars and "make the world safe for democracy".

From the stage of a dream, the idea must become a reality; so the establishment of the League became an article of faith with him. He made its acceptance a preliminary condition of signing the Peace treaties. It was his earnest hope that such an institution would be a "focus of the moral opinion of the world", a "clearing house for humanitarian projects" and "a board of conciliation" which by exerting moral pressure would be able to prevent future wars. He held that, if successful, it might one day transform itself into a sort of a super-State with power of coercion against defiant and aggressive States.

THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE

President Wilson put forward his proposal for a League of Nations at the Peace Conference. He said that, "A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording guarantee of political independence and territorial integrity". A small committee was appointed to work out the

details of the scheme. Lansing, the American Secretary of State, suggested that it should work like a Court of International Arbitration. Clemenceau proposed that it should be a sort of "a military alliance" and should have the power to enforce peace.

But after a long discussion it was decided that its main functions would be "to promote international co-operation and to achieve international peace and security by the acceptance of obligations not to resort to war". It would not be a super-State. It would be merely an association of free nations of the world which were interested in preserving peace. Its aims and rules were embodied in the form of a 'Covenant'. And President Wilson insisted that the Covenant must form an integral part of every peace treaty.

The Purpose or Functions of the League

Broadly speaking the functions of the League might be discussed under three headings, namely,

- (1) the prevention of war and maintenance of peace;
- (2) the promotion of humanitarian work; and
- (3) the discharge of obligations imposed on it by the peace treaties.

(1) **Prevention of War and Maintenance of Peace.** The primary objective of the League was to prevent future wars and to eliminate causes of strife and discontent. Hence the following rules were laid down:

- (a) All States must respect the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other States.
- (b) There should be no interference by the League in the internal affairs of a country.
- (c) No member State should resort to arms without first submitting the dispute to the League of Nations. In case of disagreement with the award of the League, nations must wait for three months before declaring war.
- (d) All cases likely to threaten peace must be brought to the notice of the League.
- (e) Any aggression by a member State against another would amount to aggression against all member States.

- (f) In matters of dispute between members and non-members, if the non-member refused to accept the decision of the League and resorted to war, it would amount to aggression against all member States.
- (g) War was not altogether banned by the Covenant. But it was stipulated that if a member State violated the Covenant and declared a war the other member States should take joint action against her. They should apply "economic sanctions" and refuse to conduct trade and commerce with her. The League might also enforce peace by resorting to armed action if necessary.
- (h) No secret treaties or alliances were to be made by the members. Copies of all alliances and treaties were to be deposited with the office of the League.
- (i) Treaties which might become dangerous to peace were to be revised and reconsidered "from time to time".
- (j) Armaments must be strictly restricted "to the lowest point consistent with the national safety".

(2) **Humanitarian Work.** The League invited the co-operation of the member States in carrying out humanitarian work "for the mitigation of suffering throughout the world". The League therefore made the following recommendations:

- (a) Trafficking in women and children was to be prohibited by member States.
- (b) Slavery should be abolished.
- (c) Trade in intoxicants and dangerous drugs like opium should be controlled.
- (d) Measures were to be taken to ensure international hygiene and to control and prevent diseases.
- (e) Labour conditions in all member States were to be improved "to secure fair and human conditions of labour for men, women and children". To implement the idea, an *International Labour Organisation* under the aegis of the League was established at Geneva. It held annual meetings to which every member country was entitled to send four delegates—two to be nominated by the Government and one representative each of the employers and the employees. The International Labour Conference passed

a number of laws for the "well-being physical, moral and intellectual of industrial wage earners."

As a result of its recommendations member States passed legislation to restrict the exploitation of labour, fixing eight hours' work a day with a weekly holiday, guaranteeing a living wage and equal pay for equal amount of work for men and women. The workers' right to form Trade Unions was recognized.

In short, the International Labour Organisation did yeomen service to the proletarian class and was responsible for the passing of many industrial laws beneficial to them.

(3) **Discharge of Obligations imposed on it by the Peace Treaties.** The Peace Treaties had imposed certain obligations on the League of Nations and it was therefore its responsibility to carry them out.

- (a) All plebiscites in disputed territories were held under the auspices of the League.
- (b) It appointed several International Commissions like the ones to administer the Free City of Danzig and the Saar district.
- (c) It guaranteed all 'special treaties' to protect the rights of minorities in newly formed States.
- (d) The League was responsible for the administration of the Mandated territories. The Mandatory Powers had to submit an annual report to the Mandates Commission of the League.

The Organs of the League

Such multifarious and heavy functions required the setting up of a sound organization to achieve the objectives of the League.

The chief organs of the League were: an Assembly, a Council and a Secretariat.

Assembly. It was the "Legislature" of the League. Every member State was represented in it and could send up to three delegates as representatives. But each State had only one vote. The Assembly met annually at Geneva to take stock of the international situation and to recommend measures to settle international disputes, if there were any. It also received reports from various Commissions working under it. In short, it exercised general supervisory functions.

The Council. It was a sort of an executive of the League. It originally consisted of four permanent members, namely Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan (the U.S.A. did not ratify the Treaty and hence did not join the League) and four non-permanent members. The original non-permanent members were Belgium, Brazil, Spain and Greece. The non-permanent members in future were to be selected by the Assembly of the League.

Later additions. In 1926 Germany became a fifth permanent member when she was admitted to the League and in 1934 the number rose to six when the U.S.S.R. also joined the League.

The number of temporary or non-permanent members was raised to six in 1922, to nine in 1926 and to ten in 1933.

Every permanent and temporary member State sent one representative and had only one vote. Usually it met four times in a year but it could meet oftener if there was an emergency.

The Secretariat. A permanent "international civil service" was constituted to carry out the work of the League. Member nations provided the staff. The Secretary-General of the League was elected by the Assembly.

Membership. Some States were invited to become original members of the League. Later, members could be admitted provided two-third majority in the Assembly voted in their favour. Important States which were admitted later were Austria and Bulgaria in 1920, Hungary in 1922, Germany in 1926, Turkey in 1932 and U.S.S.R. in 1934. Japan and Germany resigned in 1933.

All members had to share proportionately the expenses of the League. Amendments to the rules required a unanimous support in the Council and a majority in favour, in the Assembly.

International Court of Justice. A very important adjunct of the League was the International Court of Justice at the Hague. It was composed of 15 judges elected by the Assembly for a period of 9 years. They were empowered to hear and decide international disputes according to international laws and the provision of the treaties existing between the parties concerned.

It would be interesting to study the achievements and failures of the League.

A. *Achievements*

(1) **Prevention of War.** It prevented wars in the following cases:

- (a) **Finland and Sweden.** The League successfully mediated in a dispute between Finland and Sweden in 1920 over the possession of the Aachen Islands and assigned them to Finland.
- (b) **Poland and Germany.** There was a boundary dispute between Poland and Germany after a plebiscite in Upper Silesia in 1921. The League intervened and settled the dispute, slightly in favour of Poland.
- (c) **Poland and Lithuania.** Vilna was the bone of contention between the two. France supported the claims of Poland. Through the mediation of the League a war was averted and Vilna was assigned to Poland. Lithuania protested to the League.
- (d) **Italy and Greece—"The Corfu Incident" (1923).** The murder of General Tellini, an Italian Commissioner and four members of his staff, in Greek territory, led to a war between the two countries. Italy, demanded indemnity and bombarded and occupied Corfu. It was with great difficulty that Great Britain and France succeeded in persuading her to evacuate Corfu.
- (e) **Greece and Bulgaria.** A border incident between the soldiers of the two countries in 1925 led to a Greek invasion of Bulgaria. But the League acted promptly and stopped the war.

(2) **Humanitarian and General**

- (a) Several million prisoners of war were repatriated under the auspices of the League.
- (b) It successfully supervised plebiscites in disputed areas.
- (c) After the Treaty of Lausanne, it supervised the interchange of Greek and Turkish populations.
- (d) International Commissions appointed by it administered successfully the Free City of Danzig and the Saar District.
- (e) It helped in encouraging cultural and literary activities by exchange of scientific and literary information.
- (f) The International Labour Organisation was responsible for far reaching labour legislation in member countries.
- (g) The International Court of Justice solved numerous international disputes and eased tension.

The achievements of the League were praiseworthy, but they were restricted to cases where only small States were involved. When disputes arose among Great Powers or between a Great Power and a small Power, the League found itself helpless to intervene and to exercise its authority.

B. Its Failures

(1) **Japan's aggression in Manchuria.** The League could not stop the Japanese aggression in Manchuria. Japan resigned from the League in 1933.

(2) **Italian invasion of Ethiopia (1935).** The League of Nations was a helpless witness of the rape of Ethiopia, a member State of the League. She could not halt Italian aggression and belatedly and tardily suggested the application of "economic sanctions" against her. In this too, she was not supported by several member States who continued to supply oil to her, and Ethiopia passed under Italian rule.

(3) **Failure to reduce Armaments.** When the armies of the Central Powers were reduced to the barest minimum it was expected that the League would be able to persuade the member States to reduce their armaments. Yet in spite of several conferences from 1922 to 1934 nothing was achieved. Attempts to prohibit aerial and submarine warfare were in vain.

CAUSES OF THE FAILURE OF THE LEAGUE

The League was inaugurated with great enthusiasm and hope in 1920, but within two decades it ceased to exercise any influence in international relations. It had been brought into being to prevent wars and to eliminate causes which were threats to peace, but it failed to avert the greatest calamity of modern times, the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939.

There were several causes which were responsible for the growing decline in its prestige and power.

(1) **Absence of the U.S.A.** In the United States of America, whose President was the chief architect of the League of Nations, the Senate did not ratify the Peace Treaty and hence she did not join the League. After bringing about peace in Europe the U.S.A. once again retired into its own shell of isolationism. Her absence from the League upset the calculations of the Great

Powers and reduced its prestige from the very beginning. The only country which could effectively apply economic sanctions or bear military pressure on recalcitrant states abstained from its activities. All her guarantees given to countries like France and Yugoslavia became null and void and left a big gap in the system of security evolved by the Peace Conference. It was a major tragedy that the country to which millions of people looked for guidance, protection and economic assistance left them in the lurch in their hour of need. Without the U.S.A. the League of Nations was like a crew without its captain.

(2) **Absence of Germany and U.S.S.R.** Germany and other Central Powers were not invited to become original members of the League. Therefore from its very inception it was not a "Concert of all Powers", it was a concert only of the victorious Allies. Such a League could not arouse confidence in the minds of the people of the vanquished countries. They held that the League was a creation of the revengeful Allies and it would continue a vindictive policy towards them.

Germany was only admitted in 1926. With Hitler's rise to power she seceded from it in 1933. Her absence in the beginning and her defection in 1933 strongly undermined its prestige.

The U.S.S.R. was kept out of it for almost 14 years. The Western world dreaded the communist philosophy of Bolshevik Russia and kept her at arm's length. This was perhaps a great blunder, because Communist Russia was a Great Power and her co-operation was essential for the maintenance of peace and prevention of war. It was rather late in the day that the portals of the League were opened to the delegates of Red Russia in 1934. By then the foundations of the League had already been shaken by the withdrawal of Japan and Germany.

(3) **Withdrawal of Great Powers.** China appealed to the League against Japanese aggression in Manchuria. The Lytton Commission which reported on the issue recommended the creation of an autonomous State of Manchuria under Chinese sovereignty but under Japanese control. Japan did not accept the recommendation and withdrew from the League in March, 1933.

Germany also withdrew from the League in October, 1933 consequent upon her differences with France in the Disarmament Conference.

The withdrawal of Japan and Germany, two permanent mem-

bers of the Council, was a great blow to the power and prestige of the League. The defiance of the Covenant of the League by two powerful States did not augur well for future peace.

(4) **Defiance of Treaty Obligations by some Powers.** There was a tendency among certain Great Powers to disregard their Treaty obligations. Italian aggression in Ethiopia was a defiance of its authority. If Great Powers did not fulfil their obligations to the League how could peace be established and secured?

(5) **Absence of the spirit of Internationalism.** European States in particular, were still too narrow-minded to admit of international co-operation. The League of Nations was an association of nations and could only function successfully if the member States subordinated the spirit of nationalism to an international outlook and worked for the welfare of humanity at large. The narrow selfish nationalism of Italy and Germany under their Fascist and Nazi rulers respectively, did not harmonize with the wider international aims of the League. The fact was that the world was not yet ready for international co-operation.

By the year 1938, the League had been reduced to a body without its soul. Its authority had been defied several times, and its prestige stood at a very low level. The League was on its last legs, and unless a very drastic operation was performed on its body politic to revive its strength, it was bound to come to an end. It was a well-nigh impossible task because the Great Powers were not prepared to revise the terms of the Treaty of Versailles which were resented by Germany.

The League which had roused high hopes only twenty years back was therefore about to collapse in 1939, when Hitler's Germany broke one by one the shackles which the Peace Conference had imposed on her and which were to be preserved by the instrument of the League.

With Hitler's declaration of war on Poland in August 1939, the death knell was sounded so far as the League of Nations was concerned.

Chapter 29

POST-WAR EUROPE—DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP

IN THE last few days of the War, imperial governments were overthrown in Central Europe and provisional democratic governments were established instead. After the War, the century-old Hapsburg and Hohenzollern empires became extinct, and on their ruins emerged the new democratic Republican States of Germany (1919), Austria (1920), Czechoslovakia (1920) and Poland (1921). Yugoslavia retained a monarchical form of government for some time. The Romanoff empire in Russia had already been overthrown by the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and Russia had been proclaimed a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat". Non-Russian minorities were granted the right of self-determination and in 1920 Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Finland were recognized as independent republics.

In Turkey the Nationalist Turks under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal revolted against the Sultan and brought about the downfall of the Ottoman Empire and established a Republic (1923).

In most of these States, except Russia and Turkey, popularly elected Constituent Assemblies drafted and adopted democratic constitutions with an elected head of the State, a bicameral legislative system and a popular ministry responsible to the legislature.

It seemed that with the fall of the Hapsburg, the Hohenzollern and the Ottoman Empires, autocracy and absolutism had been buried deep and that the world had been made safe for democracy.

"But their overthrow opened the door not to democracy but to Dictatorship: the totalitarian State extolled by German philosophy but undreamt of by the prevailing liberalism of the nineteenth century, unexpectedly arose upon the ruins to which the war had reduced the proud empires of pre-war Europe."

The triumph of democracy was short lived, "it was more apparent than real".

Circumstances described below, and beyond the control of the newly created democratic republics brought about their fall and resulted in the rise of dictatorship in several countries, and democracy "proved but a passing phase of the immediate aftermath of the war".

GENERAL CAUSES OF THE RISE OF DICTATORSHIP

While there were specific circumstances which helped the forces of totalitarianism in every State where dictatorship replaced democracy, there were some causes which were common to all States.

(1) *Economic Causes*

The War had been a colossal drain on the national economy of all belligerent States. They were all heavily in debt. Peace brought in its wake added burdens of rehabilitating the disbanded and maimed soldiers and of reconstruction of war ravaged cities and towns. The War had given a fillip to various industries connected with its prosecution, and these had provided employment to millions of people. With the cessation of War, most of these industries were wound up, and the production of others declined considerably. Millions of people employed in them were thrown out of employment. New industries could not be set up fast enough on the ruins of the old ones to rehabilitate the idle workers.

The militant economic nationalism of the new Central European States further worsened the economic situation. High walls of protective tariff hampered international trade and the chances of a quick economic recovery were therefore greatly diminished.

The food situation was graver still. It was so precarious that if the armistice had not been signed when it was, there might have been food riots on a large scale. Agricultural production during the War had considerably declined and the British naval blockade had made sure that no foodstuff or raw material reached the enemy countries. There was, thus, acute shortage of food in most Central European countries. Prices soared high and the purchasing power of the people diminished in inverse proportion.

The economic problem was further aggravated by the Allied demand of reparations from Germany and her satellites. War-weary and economically impoverished, they were not in a position to pay a heavy war indemnity. Austria and Hungary could not pay anything at all on account of their economic bankruptcy and the League of Nations had to provide loans to them to save their tottering economy. Germany made some payments but by 1923 her economy too collapsed (for details read Chapter 30).

Unemployment, slump in industry and trade, the influx of the demobilized soldiers and the burden of reparations caused an economic crisis of a great magnitude which the democratic governments failed to resolve.

(2) *Social Causes*

The effects of the War were equally devastating in the social and moral spheres. During the War thousands of soldiers had been killed and many more maimed. The number of widows and orphans was colossal. Millions of people had been uprooted from their ancestral homes; hundreds of cities and towns had been destroyed. Peace multiplied the social and moral insecurity a hundred times. The disbanded soldiers swelled the ranks of idle workers and peasants and further disrupted social life. Old social values disappeared and yielded to new ones. The pre-war society was thoroughly degenerated and disintegrated. The old landed nobility was the worst sufferer. In most countries it had to accept land reforms by which it was deprived of much wealth and political influence. In political offices the nobles were replaced by members of the middle classes. The lower classes of workers and peasants benefited to varying degrees in most countries. In Russia their gains were the largest. In other countries land and labour reforms tried to give them some sort of social security, yet the rising prices and unsettled conditions of industry and trade in many countries resulted in industrial strikes and created favourable conditions for spreading communist agitation.

The upper middle classes consisting of industrialists, financiers, big businessmen and contractors, had no doubt made large profits during and after the war, but their number was small. The lower middle classes which subsisted on salaries were the hardest hit by the rising prices and inflation. Since the provisional democratic governments could not check either, this class which provided

most of the intellectuals, became impatient with the ineffective democratic governments and helped to bring about their fall and establish dictatorship.

(3) *Political Causes*

On the overthrow of the absolute Hohenzollern and Hapsburg empires, provisional democratic governments had been established. The titled nobility had lost political power which had passed into the hands of the middle classes, who now controlled the newly established democratic institutions of legislatures and responsible executives. They were yet inexperienced in the art of administration and in moving the governmental machine. Moreover, there were no democratic traditions in most Central European countries. The people had lived for centuries under an absolute form of government. So when the democratic governments found themselves unequal to the task of solving the grave social and economic problems, they were thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the people.

(4) *Intellectual Causes*

The forces of revolution which had been let loose by the 18th century political thinkers like Voltaire and Rousseau, did not spend themselves with the outbreak of the French Revolution of 1789 or the rise and fall of Napoleon. The process continued right through the 19th century and the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 and the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-71 were further assertions of the will of the European people to achieve and consolidate the revolutionary principles of liberty, equality and fraternity and to establish national States. Judged in this perspective, the struggles for the realization of Greek, Italian and German independence were milestones in the advance of revolutionary principles.

During the 19th century, the new economic philosophy of "Socialism" introduced a new element and changed the character of the Revolution. Its aim was no longer the achievement of political equality, but the realization of social and economic equality. Its greatest exponents were Karl Marx (1818-83) and Friedrich Engels (1820-95) who demanded a fair deal for the industrial workers and peasants. They both were Germans but had spent long years of exile in England. Marx propounded his socialist theory in *Das Kapital* and in 1848 he issued his famous

Communist Manifesto declaring that "the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles". He held that "the nobility has been overthrown by the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie is doomed to destruction by the proletariat, leading finally to a classless society". Therefore he exhorted the workers in the following words: "The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all lands unite." Consequently, in 1864, with the help and assistance of other Socialists he established the First International Workingmen's Association with headquarters in London with the avowed object of improving the miserable working conditions of the proletariat and of demanding political rights for them. An international meeting of workers in Geneva in 1866 gave great momentum to the Socialist movement and stirred the imagination of many people. Trade Unions and Socialist parties were organized in many countries. Socialist Congresses were held periodically. In 1869 a Russian Socialist named Michael Bakunin (1814-76) with a fair following threw a "bombshell" in the International by his anarchist philosophy. He advocated the use of violence and justified political murders in achieving the demands of the workers. In his methods he essentially differed from the Marxian Socialists. Their differences resulted in a split among the Socialists and brought about the fall of the First International.

A Second International was established in 1889 but it was less revolutionary in its activities.

As a result of the activities of the two "Internationals" Socialist parties had been organized in practically all European countries and in some countries like France, they played a significant part in the political life of the country. In several others they were responsible for a good deal of social and economic legislation which somewhat ameliorated the condition of workers and peasants.

During the War, the Marxian Socialists or Bolsheviks in Russia carried out a successful revolution in 1917 (for details see p. 379). Their victory exercised a deep influence on the political-cum-social structure of many countries and provided an inspiration to the people to overthrow the incompetent democratic governments which had failed to provide social and economic security.

(5) *Evil Effects of the War*

Soldiers returning from the various theatres of War had seen

considerable killing and ruthlessness. They were inured to bloodshed and violence. They were therefore quite prepared to take an active part in overthrowing the democratic governments particularly when the economic and social conditions were ripe for a revolution.

There was tremendous popular discontent, unrest and insecurity, with the democratic governments in countries which had been ravaged by the War and conditions seemed to be favourable for revolutions. In vain "all classes looked for a Saviour of Society". Democratic governments were swept off their feet by the rising tide of revolutionary waves—Socialist or Fascist. On their fall dictatorships arose in Russia, Turkey, Italy, Germany and several other European countries.

We shall attempt a broad and brief survey of the revolution and rise of dictatorship in each of these States.

REVOLUTION AND DICTATORSHIP IN RUSSIA

An appraisal of the external and internal affairs of Russia from the Congress of Vienna (1815) to the outbreak of the First World War will enable the reader to understand better the particular causes which helped the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917.

(1) *External Affairs*

Throughout the 19th century Russia had followed a vigorous foreign policy and had expanded widely in the West, and South Europe and also in Central and Far East Asia and had annexed large territories. In 1809 she conquered Finland as a result of a war with Sweden and created an autonomous Grand Duchy there. At the Congress of Vienna (1815) she acquired Poland and established an autonomous kingdom of Poland in perpetual union with Russia, and though she promised to maintain Polish culture, Polish language and to set up a liberal government there, she never kept her word. Consequently the Poles revolted unsuccessfully against the reactionary and autocratic Tsarist regime twice, once in 1830–31 and again in 1863–64. Throughout the 19th century Russia tried to expand southwards at the cost of the Ottoman Empire which Tsar Nicholas I characterized as the "sick man of Europe". But her expansionist designs roused the hostility of England and France and received a temporary setback in the Crimean War

(see Chapter 22). In 1878 she made further conquests and annexed Bessarabia and a part of Armenia. From 1878 to 1914 she continued to espouse the cause of Pan-Slavism and gave her utmost support to Serbia in her struggle with Austria-Hungary (for details see Chapter 23).

Her expansion in South Asia and the Far East too was quite spectacular. She annexed Turkestan (1850), Bokhara (1868), Khiva (1873), Samarkand (1876), Merv (1884) and Pamir (1895) in Central Asia. In the Far East she acquired the district of Amur (1858) from the Chinese, Vladivostok (1860) and Port Arthur (1898) (for details see Chapter 24).

Her expansion in the Far East brought her into conflict with Japan and she suffered an ignominious defeat in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905, which not only checked her further expansion in the Far East, but also considerably lowered her prestige abroad. Its repercussions on the internal affairs were very damaging to the absolute Tsarist regime and are discussed below.

Side by side with her territorial expansion, she extended her influence diplomatically also. At first she concluded an alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary, but when their interests clashed in the Balkans, she searched for other allies. In 1894 she made the Dual Alliance with France, and in 1907 an Anglo-Russian Entente was concluded. This later resulted in the Triple Entente (of Russia, Great Britain and France). These alliances were significant achievements of Russian diplomacy and certainly rehabilitated her prestige in international affairs and made her seemingly secure against the Austro-German designs in the Near East (for details see Chapter 25).

Her wide expansion enhanced her prestige and influence abroad and also increased her industrial potentialities on account of the acquisition of rich and fertile provinces of the Ukraine and Caucasus. But at the same time it brought a large number of dissatisfied and hostile minorities like the Finns, Poles, Estonians, Lithuanians, Jews, Rumanians, etc. into the fold of the Great Russian Empire. The attempt of the Tsar at "Russification" of these minorities caused bitter antagonism and resulted in much opposition and disaffection among them and led to a great deal of trouble for the Tsarist regime.

(2) *Internal Affairs*

Up to the middle of the 19th century Russia was predominantly a feudal country. The bulk of the people were divided into two classes, the nobles and the masses. The nobles were highly privileged and wielded much social and political power. The majority of the masses were serfs. The Tsarist regime was absolute and followed a policy of rigorous repression. Education, the press, and foreign travel were strictly controlled.

With the accession of Tsar Alexander II (1855-81) the "Tsar Liberator" a new era of liberal reforms was ushered. Restrictions on the press, foreign travel, and education were removed. Judicial reforms were carried out. Old "class" courts were abolished and a hierarchy of courts was established. The system of trial by jury in criminal cases was introduced. But by far the two most significant reforms were: firstly, the emancipation of the serfs in 1861 and, secondly, the establishment of Zemstvos in 1864. By the Emancipation Edict of March 1861, the serfs were granted personal freedom and were no longer liable to pay feudal dues. In each village a certain area of land was transferred by the Lord to the village community to be distributed among the newly emancipated serfs according to their needs. This distribution was to be periodically revised in the light of the requirements of each peasant. The Lord was paid compensation by the State, and the village community was to make "redemption payments" to the State in easy instalments. This reform certainly improved the status of the peasants, but economically they were still poor and they resented paying the redemption instalments.

The Zemstvo law of 1864 established a network of local self-government which provided representation for the nobility, the peasants and the townsmen. These Zemstvos (local boards) controlled education, roads, bridges, hospitals, etc. and were empowered to levy taxes for local requirements.

But these reforms did not satisfy the Russian Socialists who demanded more liberal reforms. Since open criticism of the Government was not possible, the extreme social revolutionaries (the Nihilists), who believed in terrorism and violence, organized in 1879 a secret society called "Will of the people". Their leaders were Bakunin and Peter Lavrov. Many of them were hunted down by the police and served long terms of imprisonment in Siberia. Their campaign of violence resulted in the murder

of a few officials. In 1881 the Tsar himself was assassinated by them.

The new Tsar Alexander III (1881-94) was deeply influenced by his father's assassination. He was extremely reactionary and was determined to suppress all revolutionary societies. Helped by Viatcheslaf Plehve (1846-1904), who was in charge of the Police, and Constantine Pobiedonostsev (1827-1907), the Procurator of the Holy Synod, a twofold policy of centralization and "Russification" was launched. In order to curb the activities of the revolutionaries the liberal reforms granted by Tsar Alexander II were withdrawn. Press censorship was reimposed and the Nihilists were hunted, the suspects were arbitrarily arrested and exiled. Strict control of education was reintroduced. The authority of the Zemstvos was curtailed and they were now mostly controlled by the landlords and officials. All authority, in fact, was once again centralized in the hands of the Tsar's government.

Along with centralization, the policy of "Russification" was continued with full vigour. Russian culture and Russian language were imposed even on non-Russian minorities. Catholics, Protestants and Jews were persecuted.

Another feature of Tsar Alexander III's policy was that the old Western policy of introducing Western culture and political institutions was given up in favour of "Slavophilism", that is, glorification of Slav culture, language and institutions.

Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917) who succeeded his father was weak-willed and was completely under the influence of the Tsarina. He continued his father's reactionary policy from 1894 to 1905.

A very significant event of his reign was the rapid spread of the Industrial Revolution in Russia. Serge Witte who was Finance Minister greatly encouraged the development of new industries, and investment of foreign capital, particularly French. Availability of cheap labour—the emancipated serfs—and abundance of iron and coal and other raw materials greatly helped the Industrial Revolution. The output of coal, iron and oil multiplied, numerous factories were installed, the shipping industry expanded, and a network of roads and railways covered the whole country. The Industrial Revolution resulted in the rise of a middle class, the urban proletariat, a number of new townships and brought in its wake the usual problems of labour and capital and caused much disaffection among the industrial workers (for details see Chapter 2).

Witte's patronage of the Industrial Revolution resulted in the rise of liberalism and socialism which demanded new reforms and a better deal for the workers. It also roused the antagonism of the old landed nobility who opposed industrialization. This criticism of the government's industrial policy led to the rise of several political parties.

(a) **"Social Democrats"**. The Socialists were the first to organize the Social Democratic Party in 1898 under the inspiration of George Plekhanov (1857-1918). The Socialists later split into two sections: the moderates or Mensheviks, and the radicals or Bolsheviks. The former were led by Martov and the latter by Lenin. The Social Democrats consisted mostly of the urban proletarian class.

(b) **"Social Revolutionary Party"**. In 1901 the Social Revolutionary Party, consisting chiefly of the peasants who were dissatisfied with the land reforms, came into existence. It advocated terrorism and political murder.

(c) **"The Liberal Party"**. In 1903, the middle class organized "the Union of Liberation" and demanded more political reforms.

(d) **"Conservative Party"**. The old landed nobility who had so far wielded social and political power organized themselves as a bulwark against the Socialist and Liberal parties and opposed all reforms.

Russo-Japanese War and its Reaction

Russian reverses and final defeat in the Russo-Japanese war reacted sharply on the internal political situation and gave rise to bitter criticism from the opposition parties. Political unrest, uprisings and murder became widespread. Plehve now the Minister of Interior and an ultra-reactionary was murdered in 1904. A procession of workers led by Father Gapon was fired upon and many people were killed on the "bloody Sunday" (22 January, 1905). Grand Duke Serge, an uncle of the Tsar, was assassinated in February, 1905. The liberals demanded a parliamentary form of government and universal suffrage. From June onwards there were widespread uprisings by workers which culminated in the Great General Strike of October, 1905. The Social Democrats (Marxian) organized the first Soviet in St. Petersburg to direct the strike. It was this Soviet which played

the leading role in the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Soon such Soviets were organized in other parts of Russia as well. The Tsar was unnerved by the Russian defeats at the hands of Japan and was alarmed at this widespread outburst of violence in the country and the demand for political reforms. Therefore he gave up his reactionary policy and issued the famous October Manifesto (30 October, 1905) promising liberty of speech, association and faith and the establishment of a Duma (Legislature) elected on the basis of a limited franchise. The Duma was to initiate and enact all legislation.

But these reforms did not satisfy the liberals and caused a rift among them. Those who supported the manifesto were called the "Octoberists", while the more progressive ones took the name of Constitutional Democratic Party or "Cadets". The latter continued to agitate for more reforms.

The Tsar was heartened by this rift among the Liberals and his hands were also free after the Treaty of Portsmouth which brought the Russo-Japanese War to a close. So he reverted to a reactionary policy again. Supported by the large landed aristocracy, army and the bureaucracy, he considerably curtailed the legislative powers of the proposed Duma. He established a Second Chamber, the Imperial Council, which was a partly nominated and partly elected body, and which was to share legislative powers with the Duma.

In May, 1906, the first Duma was summoned. The Socialists had boycotted election and there was a majority of the Liberals in it. The "Cadets" demanded a responsible ministry and since the Tsar was not prepared to accept the demand, he dissolved it. The "Cadets" felt frustrated and held a meeting at Viborg and asked the people to refuse to pay taxes. But they received little popular support.

A second Duma was elected in March, 1907. It was more radical than the first as the Socialists formed a fairly big group in it. There was again an impasse over the issue of responsible government and so the Tsar under pressure from the old nobility again dissolved it.

The electoral law was revised. A third Duma elected on the basis of the new electoral law met from 1907 to 1912. Its functions were only consultative. Though it had a large majority of the landed aristocracy, it carried out several reforms like social insurance, the setting up of land banks, etc.

The fourth Duma met from 1912 to 1916. It was more reactionary than the third and the absolute rule of the Tsar was as firmly entrenched as it was before the Russo-Japanese War.

The Social Democrats and Social Revolutionaries for the time being lay low, yet there were occasional outbursts of violence and political murders. The revolutionary movement apparently went underground and continued to smoulder. Such was the internal situation in Russia when the First World War broke out.

On the outbreak of the War the opposition parties in Russia put aside their differences and extended their support to the government. But the Tsarist regime failed to grasp their hand of friendship. Being inefficient, the government grossly mismanaged the War. General Sukhomlinov, the War Minister, was allegedly pro-German and was openly accused of inefficiency and criminal negligence of duty in not sending adequate supplies to the front in time. Consequently Russian defeats on the Eastern front roused bitter antagonism against him and the Tsar was forced to dismiss him in June, 1915. The Duma wanted a responsible progressive ministry to conduct the War, but the Tsar turned down its request. Relations between the Tsar and the Duma became more strained when in September, 1915 the Tsar dismissed Grand Duke Nicholas, the popular Commander-in-Chief in whom people and soldiers had great faith and confidence. The Tsar himself took over the command. During his absence from the capital the Tsarina controlled the political strings. But she was entirely under the hypnotic influence of Gregory Rasputin, a rustic who was supposed to have supernatural powers and who was responsible for curing the Tsarevitch, the heir to the throne. The government was therefore indirectly controlled by Rasputin who indulged in a good deal of favouritism. He was bitterly hated by a large section of the people and the army. Deteriorating military and economic conditions further complicated the situation. There was a grave shortage of food in the country and large-scale mobilization upset the industrial production completely. The war continued to be grossly mismanaged and the Russians suffered more and more defeats. The Tsarist government was thoroughly discredited. In November, 1916, the Duma warned the government of the impending catastrophe if the military and economic situation did not improve. Popular indignation against the government mounted and on 30 December, 1916 Rasputin was

poisoned and assassinated by Prince Felix Yussupov and other compatriots in the Prince's palace. But the murder of Rasputin failed to improve the situation. Inefficiency and corruption could not be rooted out. Hence the forces of revolution gained momentum.

On 8 March, 1917, strikes and uprisings organized by the Socialists (the Bolsheviks) broke out in St. Petersburg. The troops soon joined the rebels and the fall of the old regime was only a matter of days.

On 12 March the Duma established a "Provisional government" headed by Prince George Lvov. Other important ministers in it were Paul Miliukov and Alexander Kerensky. A Constituent Assembly was to draft a new constitution. The Tsar abdicated on the 15th and he and his family were imprisoned in the palace of Tsarskoe Selo from where they were transferred first to Tobolsk and then to Ekaterinburg, where they were shot on 16 July, 1918.

The Work of the Provisional Government (March to November, 1917)

The Provisional Government was essentially liberal in its outlook. It granted social and legal equality to all men and worked for the vigorous prosecution of the War. But soon it came into conflict with the Petrograd Soviet, an ultra-Socialist body. The Socialists in Russia as mentioned earlier were divided into two groups: Mensheviks and Bolsheviks. The latter dominated the Petrograd Soviet. The Government wanted to continue the War against Germany in alliance with the Allies, but the Soviet desired "general and democratic peace" without indemnities and annexations. The Soviet also insisted on setting up elected committees in the army comprising both officers and men to control army administration in order to undermine the influence of counter-revolutionary officers.

The German government was quick to take advantage of the internal quarrels between the Soviet and the pro-Allied Provisional Government and in order to further strengthen the Soviet, allowed Lenin and Zinoviev and other Bolshevik leaders who were in exile in Switzerland to pass through Germany into Russia (April, 1917). Their arrival intensified the struggle and completely undermined the authority of the provisional government. On 20 July 1917 Prince Lvov resigned and Kerensky replaced him as head of the new Provisional Government.

The Bolshevik Revolution of October-November 1917

By now the internal unrest had assumed dangerous proportions. Military defeats further worsened the situation. The people were war weary; there was shortage of food, and the Bolshevik propaganda had won a large following in the country. The Provisional Government was on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand it failed to suppress the Bolshevik agitation and, on the other hand, the conservatives and the reactionaries denounced it for not following a strong policy against the Bolsheviks.

The quarrels between General Lavr Kornilov, the new Commander-in-Chief, and Kerensky led to the downfall of the Government, and the Bolsheviks under the leadership of Lenin carried out a revolution in October-November 1917 and swept the Provisional Government aside and grasped power. Kerensky fled the country.

In the beginning the Bolsheviks were in a minority, but they were well organized and ably led. The opposition parties like the Mensheviks, the "Cadets" and the Social Revolutionaries put up a stiff opposition and gained a majority in the newly elected Constituent Assembly. But the Bolsheviks dismissed it by force and suppressed all opposition.

Characteristics of the Bolshevik Revolution

(1) It signified a violent social revolution. The landed nobility, capitalists, industrialists and senior army officers were massacred in large numbers. Their property was confiscated and distributed among the peasants and workers. Only the lucky ones escaped from the country.

(2) A virtual reign of terror was established in the country. All opposition was stifled by the institution of the Cheka, a revolutionary tribunal.

(3) The Tsar and his family were executed in July, 1918.

(4) The Bolshevik atrocities roused great indignation abroad and Germany intervened to prevent the spread of Communist philosophy abroad. After her collapse in November 1918, the Allies intervened.

We shall study the achievements of the Bolshevik regime under three periods:

- (a) The period of Militant Communism (1917-21);
- (b) The period of New Economic Policy (1921-27);
- (c) The period of New Socialist Offensive (1928-39).

A. *The Period of Militant Communism (1917-21)*

THE BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT—LENIN'S PROGRAMME

Lenin, whose real name was Vladimir Ulyanov (1870-1924), was a remarkable organizer and a true disciple of Karl Marx. Born in a middle class family, he studied Law, but while at the University he came under the influence of Marxian Socialism. Socialistic philosophy could not be tolerated in the Tsarist regime, so Lenin had to flee the country. He spent long years of exile in Switzerland but carried on Marxian propaganda through the press. He possessed a strong will and great driving power and was a born leader of men. In April 1917, through German help he returned to Russia, where the conditions seemed to be ripe to lead a Socialist Revolution. In this formidable task he was ably assisted by three lieutenants, Trotsky, Stalin and Kalinin. Lenin enlisted the support of the workers, peasants and soldiers who had been terribly oppressed by the Tsarist regime. They joined him by the thousands.

Having overthrown the Provisional Government he proclaimed Russia "a dictatorship of the proletariat". His programme was:

- (1) To immediately make peace with the Central Powers.
- (2) To nationalize land and distribute it among peasants.
- (3) To nationalize industries which were to be controlled by Committees of workers.

(4) He issued a "Declaration of the Rights of Peoples", promising the right of self-determination to the non-Russian minorities.

Problems of the New Government and how it solved them

The new Bolshevik Government styled itself as the Council of People's Commissars, headed by Lenin. Trotsky was Commissar for Foreign Affairs and Stalin for national minorities. The new Government was faced with innumerable difficulties from its very inception. (i) The war with Germany was still being fought; (ii) the supporters of the Tsarist regime enlisted foreign aid to oust the Bolsheviks; (iii) the economic conditions were miserable; (iv) a new constitution had to be drawn; (v) the Communist victory had to be consolidated. The Bolsheviks rose to the occasion and one by one solved their difficulties.

(a) **The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918)—the end of war with Germany.** The Bolsheviks had already proclaimed their

intention to bring the War to a speedy end, so the new government appealed to the belligerent States to end hostilities and to make peace on the basis of no annexations and no indemnities. The Allies rejected the offer as they did not approve of the proposed basis. The Germans showed their willingness to negotiate and on 5 December, 1917, an armistice was signed between Russia and the Central Powers. After protracted negotiations the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed on 3 March, 1918. Russia lost the Ukraine, Poland and all borderlands peopled by non-Russians. The Allies and the enemies of the Bolsheviks strongly denounced the treaty. But luckily it was not recognized by the Allies and Bolshevik Russia regained some of the 'lost' territories later.

(b) **The Great Civil War and Allied Intervention. The victory of the "Red" Russians over the "White" Russians and the Allies (1918-20).** Russia was torn by a gigantic civil war from 1918 to 1920 between the "Reds", the supporters of the new revolutionary government, and the "Whites", the supporters of the old regime. There were several causes for this struggle.

(i) *Widespread Discontent.* There was a widespread discontent among the "Tsarists" against the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. They regarded the loss of Russian territories as derogatory to national self-respect.

(ii) *Bolshevik Atrocities.* The Bolshevik atrocities against the Tsarist nobility roused widespread indignation and horror. The nobles who were lucky to flee the country appealed to the Allies for help against the brutal Bolshevik government.

(iii) *Hostility of the Allies.* The Allies too disapproved of the terms of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and suspected the Bolshevik government to be pro-German.

(iv) *Communist Propaganda.* The Bolsheviks founded the Third International (1919) and aimed at creating a world-wide Socialist revolution by appealing to the workers abroad to overthrow their democratic governments and to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat instead. In the peculiar economic and social conditions that prevailed in most countries after the War, such a propaganda was fraught with dangerous potentialities. In sheer self-interest, the Allies had to check this propaganda and if possible suppress the Bolshevik regime. Hence when the anti-Bolsheviks

and the fleeing Russian nobles appealed for help Allied expeditionary forces landed in Russia.

Faced with foreign intervention and internal strife the Bolshevik regime seemed to collapse in the beginning, but Trotsky, the Commissar for War, organized a new Red Army on a mass scale and inflicted defeats on the Allies as well as the White Russians.

We shall briefly survey the course of the Civil War in various sectors.

Struggle in the Ukraine. In January, 1918, the Ukraine had broken away from Russia and in February, 1918, the Ukrainian Government made a separate peace with the Central Powers. The Bolshevik government of Russia did not approve of it and so invaded the Ukraine, but they were repulsed by the combined Ukrainian and German armies. And a German sponsored government under General Skoropadsky was established. But with the defeat of Germany in November, 1918 this Government also fell. The situation was further complicated by the arrival of an Allied expeditionary force which landed in Odessa in December, 1918. After a grim struggle the Bolsheviks turned them out, and by 1920 the whole of Ukraine was cleared of the foreigners and the internal insurrection was suppressed. Ukraine became part of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Struggle in White Russia. The enemies of the Bolsheviks rose in White Russia under General Yudenitch and advanced upon Petrograd. But Yudenitch was decisively beaten in 1919 and all opposition was gradually crushed. In order to pacify non-Russian nationalities in the Baltic region and according to the "Declaration of the Rights of the People" the Soviet government recognized the independence of Estonia (2 February, 1920), of Lithuania (12 July, 1920), of Latvia (11 August, 1920) and of Finland (14 October, 1920). White Russia continued to be a part of the U.S.S.R.

Struggle in Northern Russia. Allied forces landed in Murmansk in June, 1918 and also occupied Archangel. The Bolsheviks opposed the Allied expeditionary force bitterly. After the armistice the Allies were too much occupied with their own problems, so in September, 1919 they withdrew from Archangel and Murmansk and the anti-Bolshevik opposition broke down.

Struggle in Southern Russia—Caucasus. Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan declared their independence in 1918, but the Bolsheviks

invaded them to reconquer them. But Generals Denikin and Wrangel defeated the Bolsheviks. There was a ding-dong struggle up to 1920, when the Bolsheviks overpowered all opposition. Denikin escaped and the civil war in the Caucasus ended.

Struggle in Siberia. Admiral Alexander Kolchak established a conservative government in Siberia in December, 1918 and then marched into Eastern Russia. The Bolsheviks launched a counter-offensive and throughout 1919 a bitter war raged between the Bolsheviks and the counter-revolutionaries. Finally Kolchak was defeated in December, 1919, captured and later executed (1920).

Vladivostok, which had been occupied by the Japanese in December, 1917, was evacuated by them in 1922 and was annexed to the U.S.S.R.

At the beginning of the Civil War the new Bolshevik regime was at a great disadvantage. It had no well-trained army, its very existence was threatened on all sides by anti-Bolshevik elements and by the invasions of allied expeditionary forces. But the Bolsheviks met these challenges with a fierce determination and within a period of two years crushed all opposition. There were several factors responsible for their final victory. Firstly, Trotsky succeeded in raising a well-disciplined and efficient Red Army. Secondly, the enemies of the Bolshevik regime were not united and their resistance broke down when Denikin and Yudenitch escaped and Admiral Kolchak was shot. Thirdly, the Allied support was also half-hearted. They were already war weary and had to face numerous post-war problems at home.

(c) **Economic Policy.** Lenin had promised land to the peasants, work to the industrial workers and peace to the soldiers in order to enlist their support for the Bolshevik Revolution. Consequently, in November, 1917, when the Bolsheviks came to power, the landed aristocracy was dispossessed of their estates by a Land Decree, and the land so acquired was distributed among the peasants who became eager and willing supporters of the Bolshevik Revolution.

In February, 1918 all land was nationalized, that is, it became the property of the State, and only those who were willing to cultivate the land themselves were allowed to do so. This caused great ill-will among the peasants who were not prepared to surrender their gains. For some time the government, therefore,

took no further action in the direction of nationalization but during the great Civil War, when there was acute shortage of food, the government imposed the "Food Levy", by which all surplus was surrendered to the government. It also resorted to forcible requisitioning, which caused further discontent among the peasants.

By June, 1918, all large and small industries were also nationalized and committees of workmen were established to control their production and administration. The workers could join only the government controlled trade unions and were deprived of their right to strike. Private trade was abolished and the government took over the distribution of food stuffs and other commodities. Banks too were nationalized and the national debt was repudiated.

The Bolsheviks did not believe in religion and so in January, 1918 the Orthodox Church was disestablished. All church property was confiscated, churches were closed and religious education was abolished. Marriages were no longer performed by priests; only civil marriages were recognized.

(d) **The New Constitution (July, 1918).** The Provisional Government had summoned a Constituent Assembly which met in January, 1918. But since anti-Bolshevik elements had a majority in it, the Revolutionary government of Lenin forcibly dissolved it. Then the Bolsheviks set about to grapple with the problem of constitution making and convened an All-Russian Congress of Soviets which drew and adopted a new constitution.

Its special features:

- (i) It was a federation of republics, each having equal rights.
- (ii) It proclaimed Russia a Socialist State of workers and peasants.
- (iii) It established a pyramidal system of Soviets rising from the Village Soviet to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets at the centre. Local Soviets elected the Provincial Congress of Soviets which in turn elected the All-Russian Congress of Soviets.
- (iv) The All-Russian (later All-Union) Congress of Soviets consisted of about 2,000 delegates and so it was a very unwieldy body. Its main functions were to receive reports from the government and to elect the Central Executive Committee and also the Council of People's Commissars (the Cabinet).
- (v) Elections were open and not by ballot.
- (vi) The franchise was restricted. Workers had a larger,

representation than the peasants. Officials of the old Tsarist regime, clergymen and petty landlords (Kulaks) were disenfranchized.

(vii) In actual practice the real power was vested in the Communist Party which was well organized and had a governing body called the Central Committee and a still smaller body called the Political Bureau, which was the real ruler of the country.

(e) **The Third International (1919).** Acting on the principle that attack is the best form of defence and with the avowed object of consolidating their victory, the Bolsheviks founded the Third International in March, 1919 under the Presidentship of Zinoviev. Through it a militant Communist propaganda was carried on abroad and its branches were opened in several countries. Its activities roused great hostility and suspicion in most countries, and for several years the Bolshevik government was not recognized by other States.

War with Poland (1920-21). Though Bolshevik Russia had defeated the anti-Bolsheviks and the Allies in the Great Civil War, her troubles were not yet over. The newly-created State of Poland, encouraged by the French, declared war on her and invaded the Ukraine. There were two causes for this invasion. Firstly, Poland was not satisfied with her new frontiers. In the 18th century before her three partitions, her boundaries included the whole of Lithuania, parts of White Russia and the Ukraine and extended up to the Black Sea. She now wanted to reconquer her former territories. Secondly, a large number of Polish landlords in Russia had been dispossessed of their lands by the Bolsheviks. They had now taken shelter in Poland and goaded the Polish Government to reconquer their former lands.

The time was opportune, because the Bolshevik government had not yet fully recovered from the aftermath of the Civil War. So in the spring of 1920, the Polish army invaded the Ukraine, overran it and occupied Kiev. However, the Bolshevik army once again rose to the occasion and launched a fierce counter-offensive and not only drove the Poles out of the Ukraine, but invaded Poland and actually reached within a few miles of Warsaw. But here the Russian offensive was exhausted. The Poles, aided by the French, beat back the Russians and advanced once again. Both sides were tired of fighting and agreed upon an armistice in October, 1920. The Treaty of Riga (March, 1921) which followed, marked the

boundary between Poland and Russia. Poland gave up her claim to the Ukraine, but received a large tract of White Russia.

B. *The Period of New Economic Policy (1921-27)*

The chief features of the second period were a new economic policy, recognition of the Soviet government by foreign powers and a reorganization of the constitution and the Communist Party.

It was easy to proclaim a dictatorship of the proletariat and to nationalize land and industries, but it was difficult to implement the programme on account of the hostility of the peasants and workmen, who could not reconcile themselves to nationalization. They lost their incentive to work hard and consequently both agricultural and industrial production went down considerably. The Allied blockade and the civil war further aggravated the economic problems. There was acute shortage of food in cities, the transport system broke down and popular discontent resulted in several uprisings. There was a severe famine in 1921-22. The entire Russian economy was on the verge of a complete collapse and a bold and sound economic policy was urgently needed to avert a national catastrophe.

(1) The New Economic Policy (N.E.P.) (March, 1921). Lenin assessed the economic situation correctly. The country was not yet ready for the introduction of full-scale nationalization. Peasants and workers would not give up private property. So Lenin struck a compromise between Socialism and Capitalism and launched a new economic programme, the so-called "temporary retreat".

The well-to-do peasants or "Kulaks" were allowed small individual farms, and the hated food levy was abolished and in its stead a grain tax was introduced. The peasants were also permitted to sell their surplus stock. In 1922 by a revised land law individuals were allowed to own small farms and to employ hired labour.

To placate the industrialists, small industrial plants were restored to their former owners and private enterprise was encouraged on a limited scale though large industries were nationalized. Foreign trade also remained a government monopoly.

The New Economic Policy resulted in establishing economic stability which had been greatly shaken by the great famine of 1921-22. Gradually it ushered in an era of prosperity both in

agriculture and industry. Though complete nationalization of land could not be realized a large number of "collective co-operatives" were encouraged and the number of "state farms" also went up. "Kulaks" were allowed to run their own farms. Industrially the country made tremendous progress and the output of coal, iron and oil was multiplied several times. Foreign trade which had practically ceased after the Revolution was encouraged also. This all round prosperity made the Bolshevik regime less feared and more secure, and the Government was free to embark on more ambitious internal and external policies.

(2) **International Relations.** (a) *Geneva Conference—The Treaty of Rapallo* (1922). The Bolshevik government was not recognized by any European Power and though the Allied intervention in the Civil War had miscarried, European hostility to the new Russian government continued. The existence of the Third International was obnoxious to many countries. It was only in 1922 that she was invited to attend the Economic Conference at Geneva and thus the Bolshevik government was indirectly recognized. For the first time the delegates of Bolshevik Russia sat together with the representatives of capitalist countries. Though the Geneva Conference failed to solve the economic problems of Europe it provided an opportunity to Russia to come to an understanding with Germany. They signed the Treaty of Rapallo on April 16, 1922 by which both agreed to establish close political relations and to mutually co-operate in the economic field. This treaty was the first international recognition of the Bolshevik regime in Russia.

(b) *Foreign recognition of the Bolshevik Regime.* Germany had recognized the Russian government in 1922. In 1924 it was formally recognized by Great Britain, Italy and also France and diplomatic relations were renewed. In 1925, Japan followed suit. In 1927, on account of the subversive activities of the Third International Great Britain severed diplomatic relations with Russia.

(3) **Revision of the Russian Constitution (1923).** By the Treaty of Union (July, 1923) the "Russian Empire" was renamed the "Union of Soviet Socialist Republics". The federation comprised the four republics of Russia, White Russia, Transcaucasia and the Ukraine in the beginning. Later three more republics of Turkomanistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakistan were also added.

Each unit of the federation was given full and free scope to develop its culture and language, and the government in each was modelled on the pattern of the Union government, with local and regional Soviets, a Central Congress with an Executive Committee and a Council of Commissars. The legislative powers of the State Congress were considerably controlled by the Union government.

Adult franchise on a restricted basis was introduced. The Tsarist officials, clergymen, nuns and petty landholders or "Kulaks" still remained disenfranchised.

The Communist Party which controlled the Union and State governments was highly disciplined. Its membership was exclusive and only those who promised strict obedience to the rules of the Party were enrolled. All new entrants had to pass through a rigorous period of probation. Only tried and loyal communists could become permanent members and they too had to be "active", that is, they could be called upon to do any function which the Party might enjoin on them. Periodical purges were quite common to eliminate disgruntled and disloyal elements.

All political, economic and social activities were guided by the Communist Party. No other party was allowed to exist and only Communists could stand for election. It exercised strict control over the press and the army. All key posts in industry, or offices or villages were held by its members.

In order to terrorise and summarily punish members of the opposition, the Communist Party had established a revolutionary tribunal called the "Cheka". It was abolished in 1922, but its place was taken by OGPU, which speedily dealt with all persons suspected of counter-revolutionary tendencies by means of arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, exile and even execution.

Within the Party the supreme dictator enjoyed unlimited power. Lenin, the first dictator, was both President of the Council of Commissars as well as the President of the Political Bureau of the Party.

Lenin's Death (January, 1924) and Struggle for Power between Stalin and Trotsky. Lenin was a man of dominating and iron will and had tremendous driving power. For over six years he was the undisputed leader of the Communist Party and virtual dictator of Russia. When he died in January, 1924, he had achieved all round success. Peace had been made with Germany, the Civil War inside the country had been won, the Allies had been expelled

and all opposition crushed. Independence of non-Russian minority States had been recognized. The New Economic Policy had brought all-round prosperity. Under the new constitution the "dictatorship of the proletariat" had been firmly established. The Third International with the object of propagating Communism in other countries had been founded in 1919. In short, during the brief space of a little over six years he had firmly placed the Bolshevik or the Communist Party in power.

On Lenin's death there was a grim struggle for power between the two rival groups within the Communist Party. The extreme or "Leftist" group led by Trotsky and Zinoviev stood for full-fledged Socialism inside the country and were consequently in favour of abandoning the New Economic Policy. They also advocated the propagation of Communism in other countries. According to them "the proletarian revolution could be safe only when the whole world had been directed into the same channel". Hence they wanted to launch a new Socialist offensive abroad and intensify the activities of the Third International.

Joseph Stalin, the leader of the moderate group, favoured the continuation of Lenin's New Economic Policy and wanted to go slow with the project of complete nationalization of land and industries. He also wanted to first consolidate the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution inside the country and opposed the proposal of propagating World Communism. Such a move would rouse the combined opposition of capitalist countries and would invite their hostility. Communist Russia, according to him, was not yet strong enough to cross swords again with capitalism abroad.

The struggle between the two groups went on from 1924 to 1927 and finally Stalin's policy was approved by the All-Union Congress of the Communist Party in December, 1927. Trotsky and his followers were expelled from the party. He was banished to Turkestan in 1928, but in 1929 for fear of his life he fled the country. On account of his aggressive Communistic attitude no European country was prepared to grant him an asylum. After a brief sojourn in Turkey and Norway, he was granted political asylum in far off Mexico where later he was assassinated.

C. *The Period of the New Socialist Offensive (1928-39).*

The Rise of Stalin. Joseph Stalin started life as a shoe maker

in Georgia. While young he had come under the influence of Marxian Socialism and was an ardent and active member of the Petrograd Soviet in 1917. In organizing the October Revolution he played an outstanding part and together with Trotsky and Kalinin formed the "triumvirate" under Lenin. On Lenin's death he was elected the Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party. In the struggle for leadership that followed Lenin's death he and his supporters completely ousted the Trotskyists. Stalin was now the virtual dictator of Russia by virtue of his position in the party. His friend Kalinin was appointed President of the U.S.S.R. and Rykov, another friend, became the President of the Council of Commissars (the Prime Minister).

Stalin's Aims. Having entrenched himself in power, Stalin set about to achieve the following aims:

- (1) To ensure greater economic prosperity.
- (2) To eradicate illiteracy.
- (3) To purge the Communist Party of all dissidents.
- (4) To enlarge and bring the Red Army fully under his control so that it should be completely subservient to his will.
- (5) To suitably revise the constitution of the U.S.S.R. to further strengthen the hold of the Communist Party.
- (6) To enhance Russian influence in international affairs.

His Policy and Achievements

(1) **Economic Policy: "The Five-Year Plans".** By 1928 Lenin's New Economic Policy had stabilized Russian economy and had brought in a good deal of prosperity. The government was now in a much stronger position to launch a further economic offensive to destroy capitalism altogether and to replace it by complete socialization, so that "the national and economic millenium promised to the toiling masses by Karl Marx" could be realized. Therefore a new programme of industrial and agricultural development was introduced through the Five-Year Plans.

(a) *The First Five-Year Plan (1928-33).* It laid special emphasis on the development of heavy industries. Consequently, a large number of factories manufacturing automobiles, tractors, machine tools and armaments sprang up. The production of coal, iron

and other minerals was further increased. Electrification of towns and factories went on apace with industrial expansion.

In agriculture, private farming was discouraged and more and more peasants were coerced to form "collective farms" and the area of "state farms" was also extended. Mechanized farming was introduced.

Yet the industrial policy did not bear the expected results and could not meet the needs of the people. The failure was partly due to the paucity of trained technical men to man the new industries and partly to incompetency and mismanagement in factories. Consequently, the government took stern measures to root out inefficiency and corruption and a number of factory workers were tried and punished. However, there was greater success in the field of agriculture where the private peasants, (Kulaks) were practically wiped out. The movement for "Collectivization" considerably improved the agricultural yield.

Another drawback of the First Five-Year Plan was that it did not lay emphasis on the production of consumer goods of which there was an acute shortage in the country.

(b) *The Second Five-Year Plan* (1933-38). The Second Five-Year Plan tried to remove the drawbacks of the First and side by side with the further development of heavy industries it laid special emphasis on the production of consumer goods and the extension of transport and communications. It also aimed at further mechanization of farming.

The industrial expansion of the U.S.S.R. attained phenomenal heights. Railways and other means of transport also expanded beyond measure and the Second Plan made a visible improvement in the standard of living of the people and made the country almost self-sufficient in food and in many commodities.

(2) **Educational Policy.** Stalin realized that without the willing and loyal co-operation of the people, the Five-Year Plans would not succeed. Therefore, to rouse their enthusiasm for economic development and loyalty to the country and to achieve emotional integration of all the peoples, he launched a vigorous propaganda explaining the activities and achievements of the Bolshevik government. In addition, he introduced compulsory primary education, but the text-books and teachers were strictly controlled by the Communist Party. Education was given a Socialist bias, because "a socialistically trained citizenship was as

necessary as economic planning". The result of these educational reforms was that not only was illiteracy removed, but the gospel of Communism was also propagated and the younger generations were brought up steeped in the fundamental principles of Communism. Emphasis was also laid on the study of sciences and technology which helped greatly in the industrial development of the country.

(3) **Purge of the Dissident Elements in the Communist Party.** Stalin was by 1928, complete master of the situation in the country and could take strong action against all dissidents. So frequent "purges" were made. In 1929, Bukharin and his supporters who advocated more concessions to the peasants on the lines of the N.E.P. and opposed the First Five-Year Plan, were expelled from the Party. A second purge took place in 1933 and a very large number of members were expelled from the Party. A number of British engineers who were suspected of sabotage were tried and convicted, but were allowed to leave the country. Relations with Great Britain consequently became strained and Britain placed an embargo on Russian trade.

In December, 1934, the murder of Serge Kirov, a close friend and associate of Stalin brought to light a widespread plot against Stalin and his regime. A thorough purge of the anti-Stalinists was carried out and Zinoviev and Kamenev, the ring leaders, were accused of conspiring to overthrow the government and were tried and imprisoned (1935) and later shot with several other followers in 1936. In 1937, Radek and Piatakov and others were also executed.

Yet another purge on a large scale took place in 1938. Bukharin and Rykov and others were tried and executed.

As a result of these purges, Stalin succeeded in liquidating most of the old Bolsheviks who were suspected of disloyalty to him. He now began to rely more and more on the younger generation who now replaced the old guard and who were purely his creation.

(4) **Purge in the Red Army.** The dictator's power rested on his control of the Red Army. Stalin, therefore, would not tolerate any disloyalty in it. The frequent party purges had their repercussions on the loyalty of certain army generals also. So in 1937 it was completely purged of all doubtful elements and Marshal Tukhachevski and seven other generals who were accused of complicity with the Germans were court-martialled and executed.

As a result, the Red Army became stronger and well-knit and could stand the German assault successfully from 1941 to 1944. The armed forces were further considerably increased by a wide expansion of the Navy, Air Force and the Army.

The party purges and the execution of army generals discredited the Stalinist regime in the eyes of the whole world. Stalin's thorough and cruel methods in liquidating all opposition shocked the democratic world and evoked much hostile criticism abroad.

(5) **Revision of the Constitution (1936).** The Constitution of the U.S.S.R. was revised in 1936. It was now a federation of eleven republics and was based ostensibly on the fundamental principle of democracy. Adult franchise granting the right to vote to all men and women not less than eighteen years old, and secret voting were introduced. But the old pyramidal system of Soviets continued with minor changes. The All-Union Congress of Soviets was replaced by a Parliament called the "Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R." It consisted of two houses, the Council of Nationalities and the Council of Union.

The Council of Nationalities represented the federating units and was composed of deputies elected by each Union, autonomous republic and autonomous province. The Council of the Union was elected directly on the basis of one representative for every 3,00,000 inhabitants. Both houses were elected for a period of four years and had equal rights.

The "Supreme Council" at a joint session elected the "Presidium" of the Supreme Council which was composed of a Chairman, four Vice-Chairmen, Secretary and 31 members. The Presidium enjoyed vast powers. It summoned the meeting of the Supreme Council and had the power to dissolve it and order fresh elections. When the Supreme Council was not in session, it enjoyed vast legislative, executive and judicial powers.

The Supreme Council at a joint session also formed the Council of People's Commissars, the so-called executive of the U.S.S.R. Theoretically it was responsible to the Supreme Council and the Presidium. The federating units were granted, in theory, vast powers, even the power to secede from the Union. In each Union there was a single chamber legislature (Supreme Union), a Presidium and a Council of Ministers, on the Central model.

The new "democratic" constitution was not based on the principle of the separation of powers and in fact most of the

legislative, executive and judicial powers were centred in the hands of the Presidium and the Supreme Council of the U.S.S.R. which were fully controlled by the Communist Party.

No other political parties were permitted in the country and so Stalin's claim that Soviet Russia was the "sole true democracy" was really not quite true.

(6) **International Relations.** The foreign policy of Soviet Russia up to 1938 was characterized by hostility towards Japan and Germany and friendliness towards her immediate neighbours and France.

The old rivalry between Russia and Japan in the Far East was revived by the establishment of the State of Manchukuo under Japanese suzerainty in 1932, and the rapid expansion of Japanese influence up to the borders of Outer Mongolia which was for all practical purposes under Russian protection. This mutual hostility endangered peace in the Far East as "incidents" between the Russians and Japanese became quite frequent. On account of deteriorating relations with Japan, Soviet Russia wanted to make sure that there would be no trouble on her western frontiers, if a war with Japan broke out. Hence in July, 1932, she concluded non-aggression pacts with Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. These pacts were extended for ten years in 1934, when Russian relations with Germany also became strained. Another non-aggression pact was made with France in November, 1932.

With the wooing of European neighbours, there was a lull in the activities of the Third International and the fear in which Soviet Russia was held so far was largely diminished. The Great Powers consequently relented in their anti-communistic attitude. In 1933, Soviet Russia was recognized by the United States of America and normal diplomatic and trade relations were established. She promised that she would not carry on any Communist propaganda in the United States.

Another result of the easing of the tension was the entry of Soviet Russia into the League of Nations in 1934. She was offered a permanent seat on the Council of the League.

The rise of the Nazi party in Germany and Hitler's denunciation of Communism posed a serious danger to the security of Soviet Russia. Hitler made no secret of his ambition to annex the Ukraine. Therefore she was naturally driven closer to France and Czechoslovakia which were also equally threatened by the aggressive

policy of Nazi Germany. On 2 May, 1935, a Franco-Russian alliance was concluded and on the 16th May, a defensive alliance was made with Czechoslovakia. Russia promised to go to the aid of Czechoslovakia, if attacked, provided France also joined her.

These alliances further embittered relations between Germany and Russia. The former regarded them as attempts to encircle her, and retaliated by concluding an anti-Comintern pact (November 1936) with Japan.

The strength of the Russo-French and the Russo-Czech alliances was severely tested by Germany in September, 1938, when she demanded the cession of Sudetenland from Czechoslovakia. Russia opposed the German demand but neither England nor France were prepared to support her and stop the Nazi aggression. Hitler was allowed to annex Sudetenland.

Hitler's appetite was whetted by this policy of "appeasement" and in March, 1939 he annexed the whole of Czechoslovakia. German threat to European peace became more and more menacing and finally England and France decided to act jointly to halt further German aggression. They invited Russia to join them in the "peace front" and offered guarantees to Poland and Rumania against German aggression. Russia insisted on a similar guarantee in respect of the Baltic States as well. England and France were not prepared to accept the Russian proposal and protracted negotiations continued throughout the summer of 1939.

Stalin was exasperated by the Anglo-French attitude. He now decided to strike a bargain with Hitler and while negotiations with the Western democracies were still in progress, he surprised the whole world by concluding a non-aggression pact with Germany on 23 August, 1939. This effected as great a diplomatic revolution as had been done by Maria Theresa of Austria on the eve of the Seven Years' War.

The net result of Stalin's foreign policy was that Soviet Russia "emerged as a key power in international alignment".

Conclusion: Russia in 1939

The achievements of Soviet Russia since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 to the beginning of the Second World War were remarkable.

In 1917 she was threatened on all sides by enemies from within and without, her political structure had collapsed, the economic conditions were miserable and culturally she was a backward

country. But by sheer determination and will power, and tremendous hard work and sacrifice, the Bolshevik Party, first under the leadership of Lenin and then of Stalin, pulled Russia out of the wood. The Allies were driven out of the country, counter-revolutionaries were suppressed and after a few experiments in constitution making, a near-stable government was established. The Russian constitutional experiment was a pioneering work and has withstood the test of time. The "dictatorship of the proletariat" upheld by the strong and unchallengeable Communist Party has come to stay and the hopes of the capitalist countries that the political structure of Russia would collapse under domestic and external stresses, have been belied.

In the economic field her achievements have been still more glorious. An economically backward country with near starvation conditions, was developed into a highly industrialized country with the growth of numerous factories and new townships. Agricultural production too made equal progress. The "State" and "Collective" farms were mechanized and latest scientific methods were introduced to make the country self-sufficient in food. In short, industrial and agricultural expansion resulted in the realization of all the promises which were held out to the workers and peasants by Lenin when he established "a dictatorship of the proletariat". The standard of living was considerably raised, the people became prosperous and the nation strong and powerful. It was the economic prosperity and the political solidarity of Soviet Russia which repulsed the mighty Nazi invasion of the country from 1941 to 1944.

Alongside economic development, Soviet Russia made long strides in cultural and scientific development. Not only was illiteracy eradicated but the foundations of tremendous progress in the development of scientific and technical knowledge were well and truly laid.

The all-round national progress of Soviet Russia, was reflected in her playing a more and more important role in international politics. The Communist regime which started shakily became more and more stable and secure as years rolled by.

REVOLUTION AND DICTATORSHIP IN TURKEY

In Chapters 20 to 23, we have already discussed the causes of the steady downfall of the once mighty Ottoman Empire. Several

national minorities like the Greeks, Serbs, Bulgars, Rumanians, etc., once under the suzerainty of the Sultan, achieved their independence one after another. This shrinkage of their empire was strongly resented by the "Young Turks" party, a militantly national organization formed in the last decade of the 19th century. It forced the Sultan to carry out reforms to strengthen the government and the nation against further dismemberment, but these efforts were not very fruitful. Her defeat in the First World War at the hands of the Allies and occupation of her territory by them after the armistice fanned the embers of discontent and indignation which had been smouldering for some time into violent flames and enveloped the country in a nationalist uprising in 1919.

Causes of the Nationalist Revolution

We shall briefly discuss the causes of the Nationalist Revolution.

(1) **The "Young Turks" Party and National Awakening.** The "Young Turks" party gradually enlisted the support of more and more educated Turks. Under their inspiration a wave of nationalism swept the whole country. Their goal of establishing a truly national, democratic and progressive government received very wide support not only among the civilians but also stirred many young army officers. This great national awakening was temporarily checked by the outbreak of the First World War and reasserted itself after the armistice.

(2) **Severe discontent with the Sultan's government.** The reactionary and inefficient government of the Sultan grossly mismanaged the War and was held responsible for the Turkish defeats. Resentment against the government mounted. Severe criticism of the war policy of the government by some army officers like Mustafa Kemal and others seriously undermined the prestige of the Sultan and his government. The Nationalist Turks were determined all the more to achieve their objective.

(3) **Allied Occupation after the Armistice of Mudros.** Turkey surrendered and signed the armistice of Mudros on 30 October, 1918. Soon after, an Allied military mission arrived at Constantinople and completely overwhelmed the Sultan's government. While the terms of the Treaty of Sevres were being ironed out, an Italian army landed at Adalia in April, 1919 and occupied South-Western Anatolia. In May, the Greek forces

occupied Smyrna. These landings were encouraged by the Allies. This occupation roused genuine fear in the minds of the Nationalist Turks that their country was going to be a victim of further foreign aggression. The danger of dismemberment of their motherland sent a wave of indignation against the "helpless" Sultan's government which was regarded as a tool of the Allies and the Italian and Greek invaders. The Nationalist Turks got ready to resist foreign aggression.

(4) **Treaty of Sevres (10 August, 1920) and the Opposition of the Nationalist Turks.** The Sultan's acceptance, though under protest, of the severe and humiliating terms of the Treaty of Sevres hurt the Turkish national pride and roused bitter antagonism among the Nationalist Turks who repudiated the Treaty. They got ready to resist both the foreign occupation and the implementation of the Treaty.

The Course of the Revolution: Chief Landmarks

(1) **The Nationalist Congress of Erzerum and Sivas (1919).** The banner of revolt was raised by the Nationalist Turks under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Pasha (1880-1938) in July-August, 1919. Mustafa Kemal, the hero of the battle of the Dardanelles, was the most popular Army General in Turkey. He strongly denounced the Italian and Greek landings and summoned a congress of the Nationalist Turks at Erzerum in July, 1919, to organize resistance to the foreign invaders. The Sultan dismissed him from the Army and ordered his arrest. In September, he summoned a bigger Nationalist Congress at Sivas, and succeeded in enlisting the support of a wide section of society in achieving his objective. He still feigned allegiance to the Sultan who, he alleged, was a mere puppet in the hands of the Allies. He convinced his supporters that he was not a traitor to the Sultan's government, but that he was fighting the foreign aggressors whom the feeble government of the Sultan could not resist. His appeal roused the people who rallied to his support.

(2) **The National Pact (1919).** The National Congress affirmed the determination of the Nationalist Turks to maintain the integrity of their country and to oppose the creation of an Armenian State by the Allies and to turn the enemies out of the country. It also issued a "National Pact" (September, 1919) proposing self-determination for the Arab provinces, opening of

the Straits to commerce, guaranteeing rights to minorities and demanding all those territories including Anatolia, Eastern Thrace and Mosul which were inhabited by non-Arab Muslim majorities and the abolition of the capitulations.

(3) **The Provisional Government.** In order to check the Nationalist movement, the Sultan reshuffled his cabinet and the new Parliament elected in October, adopted the "National Pact", as enunciated by the National Assembly. The Allies watched these developments with great misgiving and persuaded the Sultan to dissolve the Parliament and to arrest the Nationalist leaders.

In retaliation Mustafa Kemal Pasha set up a Provisional Government in Anatolia with headquarters at Angora on 23 April, 1920. The Great National Assembly, as representative of the people, was to exercise sovereignty in their name.

The Sultan who was a virtual prisoner of the Allies, sent an army to crush the Nationalist movement but it was beaten back. The Allies then allowed the Greeks to advance against the Nationalists. The Greeks occupied Eastern Thrace, Brusa and Ushak.

In the meanwhile the Sultan's acceptance, under duress, of the Treaty of Sevres in August, 1920 made the Nationalists all the more determined to resist the partitioning of their country. In October, the Turkish Nationalist army defeated the Armenians and captured Kars and in December made peace with the Armenians. In January 1921, the Nationalist Assembly at Angora adopted the "Fundamental Law" providing for a republican form of government based on the sovereignty of the people with an elected President and a ministry responsible to an elected Parliament.

(4) **The Task of the Provisional Government—Struggle with the Greeks.** Mustafa Kemal's next task was how to turn the foreigners out of the country. With tact and determination he promised economic concessions to the Italians and persuaded them to evacuate Anatolia. The Angora government also made a treaty of friendship with the Bolshevik government of Russia in March, 1921. The French were also persuaded to evacuate Cilicia in October, 1921, by the Franklin Bouillon agreement in return for economic concessions. These were great achievements. He had now to contend with the Greeks who were encouraged by the British in their aggressive policy. After several battles the

Turks defeated the Greeks at the battle of Sakaria in August-September, 1921 and halted the Greek advance. Ding-dong battles continued for an year. In September, 1922, the Turks further defeated the Greeks and captured Smyrna. The Turkish advance continued up to the Straits. The British, at this stage, appealed to the other Allies to defend the neutrality of the Straits, but received no encouraging response. A British force landed at Chanak and a war between the British and the Nationalists seemed imminent. But better counsels prevailed and the Allies invited the Nationalist Turks to a Conference and by the Convention of Midania, the Allies restored Eastern Thrace and Adrianople to the Turks who agreed to observe the neutrality of the Straits pending a permanent territorial settlement at a Peace Conference.

(5) **Abolition of the Sultanate (1 November, 1922).** The Allies also invited the representatives of the Sultan's government to the Peace Conference. The latter proposed joint action to the Angora government which refused to collude with it and spurned the offer. It also decided to end the confusion that was caused by the existence of two Turkish governments. It separated the Caliphate from the Sultanate and abolished the latter (November, 1922). The Sultan, Mohammed VI, fled the country.

The Peace Conference met at Lausanne and after much bickering the Treaty of Lausanne was signed in July, 1923 (for details see Chapter 27).

(6) **The Proclamation of the Turkish Republic (1923).** After the Treaty of Lausanne, the Allies evacuated Constantinople and the Nationalist Government finally proclaimed Turkey a republic with Mustafa Kemal as President (October, 1923).

The Nationalist revolution had been completely successful and on the downfall of the Ottoman Empire rose a new independent Turkish State. "Released from external troubles she was free to begin a new era of progress and reconstruction."

The Achievements of the Turkish Republic

A. INTERNAL AFFAIRS

(1) **Abolition of the Caliphate (1924).** The Nationalist Government regarded the union of religion and politics a great hindrance to the progress of the State. It was strongly in favour of setting up a secular State, divorcing religion from politics. So

in March, 1924, the Caliphate was abolished and the last Caliph Abdul Mejid, a scion of the House of Osman, fled the country.

(2) **Secular control of Education.** So far all education in the State was controlled by religious institutions. With the abolition of the Caliphate, the direction of education was entrusted to the care of a Director of Public Instruction and education was completely secularized. Numerous schools were opened and efforts were made to eradicate illiteracy. In November, 1928, the Arabic script was replaced by Roman and all Turks under forty years were compelled to learn it.

(3) **Adoption of a new Constitution (April, 1924).** A new democratic constitution based on the "Fundamental Law" of January, 1921 was enacted and adopted in April, 1924. Although the National Assembly exercised *de jure* sovereignty yet all *de facto* power was centred in the hands of President Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who was the Head of the State as well as the President of the National Assembly, on account of his personal prestige and "through his hold over the army".

(4) **The Great Kurdish revolt (1924-25)—Dictatorship of Mustafa Kemal established.** The Kurdish provinces revolted against the religious policy of the new regime and put up a stiff opposition. The government ruthlessly crushed the revolt and suppressed several religious orders who were responsible for the rebellion. Monasteries, their strongholds, were closed. Many Kurds were deported. The Kurdish revolt was made a pretext for revising the constitution on a totalitarian basis. The People's Party (Mustafa Kemal's Party) suppressed all opposition. The Progressive Party—the opposition party—was banned. Tribunals were set up to summarily try and punish all those who opposed the new regime. Freedom of speech was withdrawn and a virtual reign of terror was established to stifle all opposition. Though the National Assembly and the President were to be elected every four years on the basis of adult franchise, in fact the dictatorship of the People's Party was truly established.

(5) **Westernization of the People (1925).** Mustafa Kemal was a nationalist yet he was a staunch admirer of Western culture. He held that as long as the Turks retained their old customs and habits, they would never be able to make progress and compete with the Western nations on an equal footing. He, therefore, aimed at their complete Westernization. Several social laws were

passed. The wearing of the fez and turbans was abolished and the use of the veil by Turkish women was discouraged. The critics of the new social laws were severely punished by the Tribunals.

(6) **Adoption of new codes (1926).** New civil and criminal codes based on the Swiss and Italian pattern respectively were enacted. Polygamy was abolished and civil marriage was made compulsory.

(7) **Further suppression of the Opposition (1926).** On the discovery of a plot to murder Mustafa Kemal, further suppression of the opposition followed and many opposition leaders were summarily tried and executed.

(8) **Economic Development.** Mustafa Kemal's government encouraged industrial and agricultural expansion by means of a Five-Year Plan (1934). But in this venture the government did not accept any foreign aid.

B. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

The Nationalist Turks had already promised self-determination to the Arabs (*vide* National Pact, 1919) and therefore made no effort to reconquer the Arab provinces of the old Ottoman Empire. Their foreign policy aimed at preserving the Treaty of Lausanne.

(1) **The Mosul Award (December, 1925).** The future of the rich oil area of Mosul was not settled at Lausanne. It was claimed both by Turkey and Iraq which was now a British Mandate. So the dispute was referred to the League of Nations, which, assigned it to Iraq. The Turks were not reconciled to this award and protested against it. Anglo-Turkish relations consequently became strained.

(2) **Treaty with the U.S.S.R. (1925).** Turkish resentment with the Mosul award drove the Nationalist Government into the laps of Soviet Russia. She concluded a treaty of friendship with the U.S.S.R. which provided for close economic and political collaboration.

(3) **Treaty with Great Britain (1926).** On the basis of the Mosul award by the League of Nations a treaty was made between Great Britain and Turkey. The former accepted "a slight rectification of the frontiers in favour of Turkey". The Iraq government also agreed to pay to Turkey one-tenth of its share of royalties from the exploitation of Mosul oil.

(4) Conclusion of Treaties with Foreign Countries.

Turkey concluded a treaty of neutrality with Persia (1926), a treaty of friendship with Afghanistan (1928) and a non-aggression pact with Italy (1928). In 1929 and 1931, the Treaty with the U.S.S.R. was further renewed.

Turkey played a more and more leading part in settling the Balkan problem and in 1934, she signed the Balkan Pact in conjunction with Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia guaranteeing the territorial integrity of each State.

(5) Refortification of the Straits (1936). Turkey, which had been admitted to the League of Nations in 1932, was permitted by the League to refortify the Straits.

Conclusion: Turkey in 1939

In the preceding pages we have briefly surveyed the internal and the external achievements of modern Turkey from 1919 to 1939.

Mustafa Kemal died in November, 1938, and was succeeded by Ismet Inonu as President. During his "benevolent" dictatorship Turkey made tremendous all-round progress.

Politically, the new Turkish Republic was proclaimed a secular State and the century-old hold of religion on politics was completely abolished. The reactionary absolute regime of the Sultan yielded place to a progressive benevolent dictatorship of the People's Party. Old Turkish laws based on the "Shariat" were scrapped and replaced by secular laws.

Culturally, a fanatic and backward nation was completely Westernized in its customs, habits and dress. Illiteracy was largely eradicated.

In the economic field, industrial and agricultural expansion achieved without any foreign aid considerably enriched the country and made the people prosperous.

Externally, the new Turkey strengthened her position by concluding pacts of friendship or neutrality with practically all countries.

Thus on the eve of the Second World War Turkey was a strong, powerful and progressive country and a new life had been infused in the so-called "sick man of Europe".

REVOLUTION AND DICTATORSHIP IN ITALY

A brief survey of the conditions of Italy on the eve of the First World War will help the student to better understand the causes which led to the Fascist revolution of 1922.

Politically, she was a constitutional monarchy with a ministry responsible to Parliament. But party factions among the Liberals who wielded political power before, during and immediately after the War and rivalry between them and the Socialists had tended to make the government weak. Economically she was fairly prosperous; her industrial and agricultural expansion had removed poverty to a large extent. Diplomatically she was still a member of the Triple Alliance. But her relations with Germany and Austria-Hungary were gradually getting cold (see Chapter 25).

When the war broke out she declared her neutrality, on the plea that the Austrian invasion of Serbia was a hostile action and was not compatible with the terms of the Triple Alliance. Moreover, a large mass of people, particularly the Socialists and the Catholics were against Italian intervention in the War. But, at the same time, there were powerful vested interests, namely, the Army and the Conservatives, who wanted to join the war. They saw in the War the possibility of realizing their dreams of territorial aggrandizement. From the very outset, therefore, she put forward to the other members of the Triple Alliance, her claims to "concessions" to counter-balance the Austrian acquisitions in the Balkan peninsula. She demanded South Tyrol, Trieste and Dalmatia. Germany tried to persuade Austria-Hungary to concede her demands so that her neutrality might be assured. But the negotiations between Austria and Italy were rather slow and tortuous and their results did not satisfy Italian aspirations.

At this stage two factors strengthened the hands of those who wanted to intervene in the War. Firstly, German atrocities in the War roused passions in Italy and public opinion began to clamour for war, and even the revolutionary syndicalists led by Benito Mussolini advocated Italian intervention because they saw visions of a social revolution as a result of the War. Secondly, the Allies made lavish promises of territorial expansion to Italy, if she joined them. Consequently, by the Secret Treaty of London (April, 1915), Italy agreed to join the Allies who promised her South

Tyrol, Trentino, Trieste, Istria, South-east Dalmatia, Adalia in Turkey and colonies in North Africa if they were victorious.

Italian armies did not achieve remarkable victories, but they helped the Allies in keeping substantial German and Austro-Hungarian forces occupied along the Italian border.

The War ended in a victory for the Allies, but like all other belligerents Italy was also faced with grim internal and external problems, which the democratic government could not solve satisfactorily. Hence the forces of revolution raised their head, gained strength and momentum and finally overthrew Democracy and established a Fascist dictatorship instead.

Causes of the Fascist Revolution

There were three chief causes of the Fascist revolution, namely party strife, miserable economic conditions and resentment against the Treaty of Versailles.

A. PARTY STRIFE

Italian political life was torn by party rivalries. There were three major parties in 1919: the Liberals, the Socialists, and the Catholic or 'Popular' party. Two new parties, the Communists and the Fascists, had just appeared on the scene.

(a) **The Liberals.** The Liberals were mostly drawn from the middle classes. They had been in power for a long time, but their weakness was two-fold. Firstly, they were divided into a number of factions. Giolitti, Nitti and Facta had their own powerful groups which completely disrupted the party. Secondly, they had no definite national or international policy. Their sole aim was to keep themselves in power by means of political legerdemain.

(b) **The Socialists.** The Marxian Socialists had organized themselves into a powerful political party even before the War. Its supporters were the lower middle classes, the workers and the peasants. After the war many impetuous young university students and some disillusioned ex-soldiers also joined its ranks. The Socialists were not revolutionary in their methods, they wanted to achieve the Socialist Revolution by constitutional means though occasionally they indulged in revolutionary activities and encouraged strikes and lock-outs. After the War an extreme section of Communists which took its inspiration from the Bolshevik

Revolution of Russia formed its left wing. But its activities were not approved by the party and finally it parted company with the Socialists in 1921.

(c) **The Catholic or Popular Party.** The Catholics emerged as a strong political party early in 1919. The party was led by Luigi Sturzo, a priest, and was composed mostly of middle class Catholic intelligentsia and Catholic peasants and labourers, small industrialists and farmers. Like the Socialists, they too abhorred the war and were determined opponents of the Liberals. They advocated democratic social reforms and distribution of land among the peasants. They were staunch supporters of the Church and the Catholic Schools and opposed the anti-clerical policy of the Liberals. In foreign affairs, they sought to co-operate with the League of Nations.

Problems of Post-war Italy—Failure of the Liberals to solve them. Italy was faced with two grim and serious problems after the war and the future of a stable democratic government depended upon their satisfactory solution. Firstly, the miserable economic conditions must be ameliorated and, secondly, the territorial ambitions of the Italian patriots must be satisfied. The Liberal Party which was in power for most of the time from 1919 to 1922 failed to tackle satisfactorily the deepening economic crisis or the growing lawlessness inside the country. Nor could it contain the rising passions of the Italian patriots against the Treaty of Versailles. The government was, therefore, bitterly assailed by the opposition parties.

B. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

Economic conditions at the end of the War were simply chaotic. Trade and Industry were disorganized, the transport system was in disorder. Public indebtedness had increased, prices soared, unemployment, social insecurity and shortage of food further aggravated the situation. Except a few black-marketeers and profiteers, the condition of the middle classes, workers and peasants was miserable. The promise of better times held out by the government during the War was forgotten. The demobilized soldiers who were not amenable to discipline made confusion worse confounded.

The Liberal Party which was in power when the War ended, made only half-hearted efforts to solve the economic ills or arrest

the growing lawlessness. Its efforts were hampered by party rivalries. By their inaction, the Liberals allowed the revolutionary movement to grow and assume dangerous proportions. By April, 1921 the Communists had become quite vociferous and they and the Socialists encouraged lock-outs, strikes, sabotage and even seizure of factories by workers, to discredit the government and bring about its fall. These Socialist outbursts of violence completely disorganized life inside the country and created revolutionary conditions.

C. RESENTMENT WITH THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES

(1) **Italian Hopes of Territorial Gains shattered.** At the Peace Conference Italy reminded the Allies of their promises (*vide* the Secret Treaty of London, 1915). She had hoped to turn the Adriatic Sea into an Italian lake. But her territorial claims on the Adriatic were strongly opposed by President Wilson of America who refused to recognize the Secret Treaty of London and backed the claims of Yugoslavia. France strongly supported Italy. There was an impasse, but it was finally agreed that the two (Yugoslavia and Italy) should decide the question of Dalmatia and Fiume by direct negotiation. Italian hopes elsewhere were also shattered. She had expected to acquire a share of the old Turkish provinces and some of the former German colonies in Africa but "Italy got nothing from the rich colonial dinner". A wave of indignation swept the country when her territorial aspirations were not fulfilled. The Liberal Government stood thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the people. Prime Minister Orlando resigned in July, 1919. He was succeeded by Francesco Nitti (July, 1919 to June, 1920) but political tension continued to mount and the government failed to check the ever-rising demand of the Nationalists to seize Fiume.

(2) **D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume—Quarrel with Yugoslavia (1919).** In September, 1919 D'Annunzio, an eminent writer and a great nationalist, seized Fiume with the help of a band of volunteers in defiance of the government. The government was in a dilemma. If it took action against D'Annunzio it was bound to cause an internal revolution, because D'Annunzio's bold action had wide support inside the country. If it did not, then there was the possibility of a war with Yugoslavia and perhaps also with other Great Powers. Passions rose very high. Nitti, the Prime Minister, could not solve the Fiume crisis

and resigned. Giolitti, the veteran Liberal politician, again formed the Government (June, 1920 to July, 1921). He was a past-master in political chicanery and by his diplomatic skill he averted a war with Yugoslavia and concluded with her the Treaty of Rapallo (November, 1920). Italy annexed part of Istria and a strip of Dalmatia, and renounced her claim to the rest of Dalmatia. Fiume was declared a Free City to be used by both Powers. The Treaty did not satisfy all sections of the people. D'Annunzio and his supporters would not recognize it and refused to evacuate Fiume. To avert a war with Yugoslavia, the Government had to take action against D'Annunzio. The Italian forces bombarded Fiume and forced D'Annunzio to evacuate it. Fiume became an independent city.

The anti-D'Annunzio policy of Giolitti was very unpopular and brought about his fall in June, 1921. A coalition of Liberals and Catholics under Bonomi formed the new government (July, 1921 to February, 1922). But it did not work smoothly on account of the mutual suspicions and rivalries of the two groups and Bonomi resigned in February, 1922. Luigi Facta, a Liberal, became Prime Minister (February, 1922 to October, 1922). He was too feeble to control the external situation.

The trouble over Fiume was not yet over. In March 1922, a Fascist coup overthrew the Fiume Government and Italian troops once again occupied the town. Relations with Yugoslavia became strained and a war seemed imminent. But better counsels prevailed. By the Treaty of Santa Margherita concluded between Italy and Yugoslavia in October, 1922, the Treaty of Rapallo, establishing the independence of Fiume was reaffirmed. In January, 1924, when the Fascists under Mussolini were firmly in power the future of Fiume was finally decided by a Treaty with Yugoslavia, and Fiume was assigned to Italy, but Yugoslavia was guaranteed the right to use the port.

Party strife and group rivalries and the utter incompetence of the Facta Government to solve the internal and external problems shook the very roots of democracy. There was a grim danger that the country might turn "Red" under the growing power and influence of the Communists, but a new star appeared in the political firmament. He was Benito Mussolini, the leader of the Fascist Party, who finally brought about the fall of the democratic government and established his own dictatorship.

The Fascist Revolution—Rise of Mussolini (October, 1922)

Early life of Mussolini. Benito Mussolini (1883–1945) was the son of a blacksmith. He was trained to be a schoolmaster. But early in his life he came under the influence of Socialism. In 1908 he was imprisoned for ten days for taking part in an agrarian revolt in Romagna. After his release he carried on bitter socialist propaganda through the press and his activities were closely watched by the police. Gradually he drifted from the traditional Marxian Socialism towards the Syndicalism of Sorel, because in his opinion the Socialist Party in Italy had become a hand-maid of the bourgeoisie.

He was again imprisoned for five months in 1911 for opposing the Tripolitan war. After his release he was appointed editor of the *Avanti*, the official organ of the Socialist Party.

In 1914 he parted company with the Socialists over the issue of Italian participation in the First World War. The Socialists strongly opposed intervention, but Mussolini and his reactionary Syndicalists favoured Italian participation as it might improve her international status and bring about an economic and social revolution. He was accused of being a “traitor, hireling and assassin” and was expelled from the party. He founded a new Socialist journal of his own called *Popolo d'Italia*, in November, 1914 and carried on a systematic propaganda in favour of the War. He was challenged to a duel by a Socialist adversary named Claudio Treves and was slightly wounded. In May, 1915, Mussolini hailed the Italian declaration of war in the following words: “Now that steel has to meet steel, one single cry issues from our breasts, *Viva l'Italia*.” He himself joined the army and fought in the trenches but was seriously wounded in 1917. After recovery he rejoined as editor of his paper *Popolo d'Italia* and warned the government of the growing propaganda of the Socialists against the War.

After the armistice Mussolini demanded the fulfilment of Italian territorial aspirations. When D'Annunzio forcibly seized Fiume in September, 1919, he hailed him as a national hero. The government of Nitti arrested him for supporting “armed plotting against the security of the State”. But he was soon set free.

The Formation of the Fascist Party—Fascist Violence.

After the War his opposition to Marxian Socialism continued and he bitterly attacked Bolshevism and the revolutionary activities

of the Italian Communists who looked up to Russia for inspiration. Lock-outs, strikes, sabotage and even forcible seizure of factories by Communists had created great lawlessness in the country.

In order to combat the spread of Communistic ideology and to crush the revolutionary activities of the Communists, Mussolini founded the first "Fascio di Combattimento" on 23 March, 1919 in Milan. This became the nucleus of the Fascist Party and gradually a network of "Fasci" (clubs) on the lines of the Jacobin clubs of pre-Revolutionary France spread throughout the country.

The Communist disorder caused a state of panic among the industrialists, landlords and shopkeepers, who saw in the rising Fascist Party their only hope of salvation. So they joined it in large numbers. A disciplined corps of volunteers, the famous "Black Shirts", was raised to terrorize the Communists.

There were frequent clashes between the Fascists and the Communists and by February, 1921 a situation almost amounting to a state of civil war existed in the country. The Fascists outdid the Communists in their atrocities. Socialist newspaper offices were sacked and the Fascists committed murder and arson to avenge the victims of Communist aggression. The feeble Liberal government of Giolitti could neither suppress the Communists nor the Fascists. He even connived at the terror let loose by the Fascists and Government officials took only half-hearted action against them. The wily old Prime Minister tried to play off the one against the other in the vain hope that after crushing the Socialists, the Fascists would join the Liberals. Giolitti resigned in June, 1921. But neither the short-lived government of Bonomi (July, 1921 to February, 1922) nor the restored Liberal government of Luigi Facta could control lawlessness.

The General Elections of May, 1921 were held in a tense atmosphere of violence and terror. The Fascists contested the elections and Mussolini and 35 other Fascists were elected. The Fascists were still in a hopeless minority and were yet to be moulded into a disciplined political party. Therefore, Mussolini spent the next year in organizing it and by March, 1922 the Fascists were a live force in the body politic of the country. On 3 March, 1922 a Fascist coup overthrew the Government in Fiume. In August, the Fascists forcibly broke up the strike organized by the Communists and practically dealt a death blow to Communism in Italy. Having saved the country from Communism, Mussolini's

ambitions grew and he decided to make a bid for political power.

The Fascists had gained much support in the country but the monarchists and the conservatives were still apprehensive of the final aims of Fascism. Would not Mussolini who at one time was an avowed revolutionary Syndicalist, revert to his original economic philosophy? Therefore he decided to allay their fear and gain further support. At a Fascist Congress at Udine in September, 1922, he announced that he favoured a constitutional monarchy as the form of government in Italy. This declaration had the desired effect and won him the support of the Monarchists and the army. At a grand Fascist rally in Naples on 24 October, 1922, he uttered the memorable words: "Either the government will be given to us, or we shall march on Rome." He demanded the resignation of the ineffective Facta government and the formation of a Fascist ministry. Facta who had been watching these developments with great dismay so far, demanded the proclamation of martial law to deal with the Fascist menace, but the King refused his demand. Therefore Facta resigned on 27 October. The King called upon Salandra to form a coalition government with the Fascists. But Mussolini refused to support the King's proposal.

The Fascist March on Rome (28 October, 1922). The situation was now ripe for a political coup and on the 28 October, 1922, the Fascists staged their memorable march on Rome.

King Victor Emmanuel II was overwhelmed and yielded to Fascist pressure and appointed Mussolini Prime Minister on 30 October. Parliament granted him dictatorial powers for an year to restore order. The Fascist Revolution had achieved a grand victory.

The Fascist Ideology and Organization

It would be interesting to study the theory of Fascism and the organization of the Fascist Party which dominated Italy from 1922 to 1944.

FASCIST THEORY OF STATE

(1) **Political Ideology—Totalitarian State.** "The key-stone of the Fascist doctrine is its conception of the State, of its essence, its functions and its aims."

Fascism drew its inspiration so far as its political theory was concerned from the glories of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages

when the paramountcy of the State and Church was unquestioned. It therefore believed in the supremacy of the State over the individual. The rights of the individual must be subordinated to the interests of the State. "Their dogma holds that the individual exists solely for the society of which he forms a part and that the State obliterates all individual rights." "Society is not the sum of the individuals who constitute the nation, and the individual is not the end of Society, but only the means; the fundamental problem for Fascism is not that of the rights of the individuals or classes, but of the rights of the State and the duty of the individuals." Consequently, the State alone had the right to decide what was good for the individual and hence had the final say in making laws. The State should however ensure the welfare of the people, but "their welfare is a concession not a right". Against the interests of the State the individual had no rights. Even the administration of justice was not intended to uphold the rights of the individual, but the interests of the State.

Party Dictatorship. Fascist ideology had no room for the existence of opposition parties. According to their doctrine, the interests of the nation, the State and the government were identical. This political dogma could be ensured if there was only one party in the country. The very existence of a large number of parties would mean divergent interests which would not be identical with the interests of the Nation or the State. Hence all opposition parties must be suppressed.

Dictatorship of the Leader of the Party. In order to avoid differences of opinion even among the members of the same party, they must submit to the will of the leader of the party, whose authority should be unquestioned, otherwise groupism and cliques would raise their heads and destroy the party and its dictatorship. He should have the power to override all laws. He should have unlimited control over the Army and the Civilian officials and no criticism of his action should be tolerated.

(2) **Economic Philosophy of Fascism.** Fascism aimed at the establishment of a "Corporative" or guild State. All economic production at the local level was to be controlled by guilds, composed of the representatives of the employers and the employed. The guilds were to further form National Confederations or Syndicates and Syndicates to form Corporations. At the apex of the economic hierarchy would be a National Council to be

directly controlled by the party dictator. This National Council was to advise Parliament on all questions of economic and social reform. Perhaps it might one day completely supplant Parliament as the Supreme Legislature of the country, because "functional or proportional representation rather than individual or territorial representation was the political goal of the Corporative State of the Fascists".

Such a system would be a synthesis of what was best in private enterprise and State Socialism. The Fascists held that intensification of production was as much in the interest of the State as of the employer and the employed. In short, the economic interests of the workers, labourers and their employers were identical with the interests of the State. Hence Fascism was prepared to accept private enterprise in industry and agriculture. This principle differentiated Fascist Syndicalism from Marxian Socialism, which aimed at nationalization of industry and land. Unlike Marxian Socialists the Fascists did not hold that the history of mankind was the history of class struggle. They believed in class collaboration as, basically, the interests of the employer, the employed and the State were identical. "Fascist Syndicalism works through class collaboration and aims at organizing the guild State in which all factors of production—capital, scientific research, technical direction, manual and clerical labour—are organized as essential in their degree, their several interests being conciliated and subordinated to the general or national interests of which they are an integral part."

The Party Organization. The Fascist Party completely controlled the entire governmental machinery, and hence elaborate care was taken in its organization. Its membership was strictly controlled and only trusted men were recruited. The party was well organized with a network of over 10,000 Fasci in the country. The supreme controlling body of the party was the Grand Council which was composed of the ministers, a secretary, high officials of the party and representatives of Fascist Corporations. Its Constitution was entirely controlled by the party chief who determined its strength and had unlimited power of co-opting as many people as he liked. He also had the power to summon it and prepare the agenda and to implement its decisions. It enjoyed vast powers. It was the supreme executive of the party and laid down its policies, it selected candidates for Parliament after 1928. Laws were

approved by it. It had to be consulted on all questions concerning royal succession, amendment of the Constitution, the powers of the Prime Minister, the relation of the State with the Church. In short, as the party was synonymous with the State, it controlled and guided the life of the whole nation. It provided military training for children, boys and youth through the institutions of "Balilla", "Avanguardia" and the "Fascist Youth", respectively. It also had at its disposal a special Fascist Militia and a special tribunal of Fascist magistrates to enforce its decision. The party had its own mode of salutation and party anthem which were later adopted as National Symbols in 1928.

The Aims of the Party. Having been appointed Prime Minister, Mussolini formed a coalition government of the Fascists and Catholics. But the latter had very little say in the affairs of the State. The Fascist Party was the senior partner and set about to achieve the following objectives:

- (1) To suppress all opposition and centralize power in the hands of the party.
- (2) To establish law and order and root out lawlessness.
- (3) To improve the economic condition and to establish a Corporative State.
- (4) To reach an agreement with the Pope.
- (5) To achieve the territorial aspirations of the Italian people.

The Achievements of the Fascist Party

(1) **Centralization of Power.** In outward appearance Italy was yet a constitutional monarchy with a ministry responsible to Parliament. The Fascist political ideology was anti-parliamentary. It aimed at the establishment of a totalitarian State in which all power would be concentrated in the hands of the Fascist Party. To achieve this objective, Mussolini moved cautiously but firmly. He did not want to suppress Parliamentary institutions straightaway, but gradually muzzled them completely and brought them under the sole control of the party. However, "for the moment, Mussolini, whether from conviction or necessity, hesitated between law and violence and seemed inclined to govern constitutionally". But within six years he established party dictatorship by taking the following steps.

(a) *Special Powers.* In November, 1922, Mussolini persuaded

the King and Parliament to grant him dictatorial power up to 31 December 1923, to suppress lawlessness in the country. He did not mean to rule unconstitutionally, and outwardly professed his allegiance to the parliamentary form of government. But in order to centralize power, he appointed new prefects and sub-prefects. With the support of the Army which was considerably increased the whole governmental machinery was centralized under his control.

(b) *Fascist Militia (January, 1923) and Suppression of Opposition.* He could not entirely trust the Army, so he persuaded the King to authorize him to raise a substantial Fascist Militia in January, 1923. The members of the militia for the next two years swore fidelity to Mussolini and not to the King. This militia was going to be his tool of repression. It was given wide latitude to crush all anti-Fascist elements particularly the Socialists and the Communists. The Fascists indulged in looting, arson and even murder of their opponents on a wide scale. The Communists retaliated with equal vigour where possible, but since the Fascists had the army and militia at their command, they were easily subdued. Even the Catholic Co-operative Stores were looted. The Fascist reign of terror roused bitter criticism and protests from the opposition parties and the Catholics. The Catholics resigned from the Cabinet in protest.

(c) *New Electoral Law (November, 1923).* Parliament had conferred dictatorial powers on Mussolini up to 31 December, 1923. He was not sure of Parliamentary support after that. Therefore he wanted to amend the electoral law in such a way that the Fascists would command a majority in Parliament. Hence he persuaded Parliament to enact a revolutionary electoral law, in November, 1923. According to it the party which won a majority of votes in the country, provided it secured at least one-quarter of the total number of votes, should elect two-thirds of the members of the Chamber of Deputies. The remaining one-third of the seats should be distributed among the opposition parties on a proportional basis.

Elections under the new law were held in April, 1924. As the Fascists were better organized and as they terrorized other political parties, they polled 65 per cent of the votes and consequently appointed 375 deputies. The Socialists, the Liberals and the Catholics were reduced to a very ineffective minority.

(d) *Murder of Matteotti (1924)—further Suppression of Opposition.* Giacomo Matteotti, a Socialist deputy, denounced the Fascist election methods and Fascist acts of violence in a booklet *Fascists Exposed*, as well as in Parliament. He was quietly kidnapped and murdered by the Fascists in June, 1924. His assassination roused bitter anti-Fascist indignation. The opposition Deputies demanded a trial of those responsible for the murder and in protest withdrew from the Chamber. To appease them Mussolini ordered a trial of the alleged assassins, but they were either acquitted or awarded very light punishments after a trial lasting nearly two years.

The opposition was stifled by enacting a number of laws from 1925 to 1928 and more and more power was centralized in the hands of Mussolini. A strict censorship of the press was imposed and all anti-Fascist newspapers were muzzled. Freemasonry and secret societies were banned, local government was directly controlled from the Centre. Mussolini appointed even "podestas" (governors) of cities and villages.

(e) *Further Centralization—New Electoral Law (1928).* No bill could be introduced in Parliament without the consent and approval of Mussolini, the President of the Council. He became the Supreme Commander of the Army and the Navy. In May, 1928, a new electoral law was passed. Universal suffrage was abolished and franchise was restricted to those who were not less than 21 years old and who paid Syndicate taxes of 100 lire. Only candidates approved by the Fascist Grand Council were permitted to stand for election. The voters voted 'for' or 'against' the list of candidates approved by the Fascist Grand Council. Parliamentary democracy was at an end and Mussolini as the Party Chief enjoyed unlimited executive and legislative powers.

Though in theory the government still remained a constitutional monarchy, yet in fact, the dictatorship of the Fascist Party under Mussolini had been truly established. "No one in Italy from the King to his ministers, from the generals to the industrial magnates dared to oppose him." "The machinery of the Fascist party and that of the Italian State were thus closely inter-locked and the supreme manipulator of both was Mussolini, *Il Duce*, Chairman of the Grand Council and Prime Minister."

(2) **Establishment of Law and Order.** After an initial period of Fascist violence to crush the Communists and other anti-Fascist elements, law and order was enforced. Dishonest

and disloyal officials were removed. Efficiency in administration was achieved, strict economy in public expenditure was enforced. But the freedom of the press was strictly limited and no criticism of the government was tolerated. The armed forces were to be his tool in maintaining internal order and in realizing his territorial ambitions. Therefore the Army, Navy and Air Force were increased. Compulsory military service was introduced and great improvements were made in their discipline, training and equipment.

Nor did Mussolini neglect the spread of education. A large number of schools were opened and education was made compulsory. The aims were, firstly, to eradicate illiteracy and, secondly, to train the future citizens of Italy to be Fascists. Hence text-books, teachers and curriculum were strictly controlled by the Party.

(3) **Economic Achievements—Steps to establish the Corporative State.** Fascism aimed at the achievement of economic self-sufficiency through the establishment of a "Corporative" or guild State. To realize this objective a series of laws was initiated:

- (a) In April, 1926, a law provided for the establishment of Syndical associations for all categories of employers and the corresponding category of the employed. These guilds were to organize and develop the industries which they represented.
- (b) *The Charter of Labour* (1927). By the "Charter of Labour" promulgated in 1927, private enterprise in industry and agriculture was permitted, but the rights of the workers and employees were safeguarded. It fixed 8 hours work a day for the workers and provided for relief to them in the event of illness or disability.
- (c) *National Confederation.* The entire economic activity of the State was controlled by 13 Syndicates or National Confederations, six of the employers, six of the employed and one of men in liberal professions and art. The six employers' Confederations were of Industries, Agriculture, Commerce, Bankers, Inland Transport and Sea and Air Transport. Each employers' syndicate had a corresponding confederation of manual workers and non-manual

employees. Each pair of Syndicates was grouped into a Corporation.

Strikes and lock-outs were declared illegal. All industrial disputes were to be settled by tribunals appointed by the Corporations. Non-Fascist Unions were banned.

- (d) *Political Powers of the Syndicates* (1928). In 1928 the 13 Syndicates were entrusted with political power and they were empowered to recommend candidates for parliamentary election to the Grand Council of the party.
- (e) *National Council of Corporation*. In April, 1929, a National Council of Corporation was established to control and guide national production under a Minister of Corporation. It was composed of the representatives of the government and the Syndicates.
- (f) *The National Council* (1934). In 1934 another step was taken to achieve the goal of a Corporative State by the establishment of a National Council under the control and direction of the Prime Minister. It consisted of deputies elected by the various Corporations. Its function was to advise Parliament on economic and social legislation.

By these labour laws and economic organization the Fascists tried to achieve the objective of establishing the Corporative State with the willing co-operation of the employers and the employed. "The Corporative State is then a blend of Nationalism and Syndicalism and claims to combine all that is best in private enterprise and the principle of private property, State Socialism and economic Syndicalism."

Under the new economic system, the country made rapid strides towards agricultural and industrial expansion. Swamps were cleared and made fit for agriculture, and production of food was increased. A number of industries were developed. More roads were constructed. The railways and the merchant marine were expanded. Hydroelectric projects were launched. New colonies were founded. All this expansion certainly improved the economic condition of the people. But the realization of economic self-sufficiency was greatly hampered by the shortage

of raw material and hence Italy cried for more colonies abroad and followed an aggressive foreign policy.

(4) **The Lateran Treaty and Concordat with the Pope (1929).** Ever since 1870 when the forces of Piedmont forcibly entered Rome and the Pope retired into the Vatican, the relations between the Pope and the Italian State had been very strained. The Italian government mostly controlled by the Liberal Party had followed an anti-clerical policy. The Catholic people were torn between their allegiance to the State and their loyalty to the religious head. Mussolini, who was eager to win the support of the Catholic masses, wanted to heal this breach between the State and the Papacy. He wanted to strengthen his position as dictator with the blessings of the Pope. So he initiated negotiations with the Pope and concluded the Lateran Treaty in 1929.

- (a) The "Vatican City" was created as an independent State and the temporal sovereignty of the Pope over it was recognized.
- (b) The Pope in return, recognized the Kingdom of Italy.

The Concordat. Along with the Lateran Treaty, a "Concordat" was signed between the Papacy and the Italian Government:

- (a) The Italian Government promised to pay 1750 million lire (£ 19,000,000) to the Papacy as indemnity for the seizure of Rome.
- (b) Catholic religion was to be the sole religion of the Italian State.
- (c) The Pope would appoint all bishops in Italy after consulting the Italian Government.
- (d) The clergy was debarred from joining any political party.
- (e) Religious Corporations were allowed to acquire property and were granted a legal status.

By this Treaty and Concordat with the Pope Pius XI, Mussolini "healed a festering and gaping wound in the body politic". His conciliation with the Pope strengthened the position of the Fascist Party.

(5) **Foreign Policy.** The main aims of the Fascist foreign policy were firstly to acquire colonies and, secondly, to enhance

Italian influence in international affairs. Its chief features were as follows:

(a) *Imperialism*. Mussolini, the radical Socialist, had denounced the Liberal government in 1911 for seizing Tripoli, but Mussolini, the Fascist chief, was a champion of colonization in 1922. He wanted to revive the glories of the old Roman Empire and therefore followed an aggressive foreign policy. Italy must expand and acquire protectorates and colonies to provide settlements for her expanding population and raw material for her growing industries. The territorial aspirations of the Italians must be realized otherwise like the Liberals, their predecessors in government, they would also be discredited. Italy based her territorial claims on the Secret Treaty of London. On account of the opposition of President Wilson they got nothing at the Peace Conference. However, the Italians kept pressing the Great Powers for the fulfilment of its terms. The Imperialist policy followed by Italy achieved the following:

(i) *Dodecanese Islands*. Italy refused to surrender the Dodecanese Islands in spite of British protests.

(ii) *Albania*. By the Secret Treaty of London, Italian "special status" in Albania had been recognized. So in 1921, Great Britain, France and Japan instructed their representatives in the League of Nations that if the independence of Albania was threatened, Italy should be allowed to go to her rescue. Italy regarded this as recognition of her right to interference in the internal affairs of Albania.

Greek-Albania border incident—The Corfu Incident. In August, 1923, General Tellini and four other Italian members of the Commission which was assigned the task of delimiting the Greek-Albania frontier were killed by Greek bandits. The Italian government sent an ultimatum to the Greeks and bombarded Corfu. Greece appealed to the League of Nations and the Council of Ambassadors. Under pressure from the Great Powers Italy had to evacuate Corfu but she was compensated by an indemnity of 50,000,000 lire.

In November, 1926, Italy concluded a Treaty with Albania which formally placed her under Italian "protection". In April, 1939 Italy invaded Albania and conquered it. The Great Powers seemed helpless to stop Italian aggression.

(iii) *Fiume* (January 1924). Mussolini concluded a Treaty with Yugoslavia by which Fiume was ceded to Italy.

(iv) *Addition to Somaliland* (1924). Italy persuaded Great Britain to compensate her in North Africa according to the Treaty of London (1915) and the latter transferred the territory of Jubaland, part of Kenya, to Italian Somaliland.

(v) *Franco-Italian Agreement* (1935). By the agreement concluded between Laval and Mussolini, France ceded to Italy under the Treaty of London, a strip of Equatorial Africa adjacent to Italian Libya.

(vi) *Conquest of Ethiopia or Abyssinia* (1935-36). Italy had long cast her coveted eyes on Ethiopia. But fearing the hostility of the Great Powers she had held back up to 1935. By the Laval-Mussolini agreement (1935), Italy was allowed a free hand in Abyssinia by France. Relations between Abyssinia and Italy had continued to deteriorate on account of Italy's aggressive policy and finally Italy declared war on Abyssinia in 1935 and conquered her (for details see next chapter).

(b) *Friendship towards former Allies* (up to 1935). Italy pursued a friendly policy towards her former allies, Great Britain and France up to 1935, but their hostility towards her in the Ethiopian war gradually worsened relations between them and she drew more and more towards Germany.

(c) *Pro-German foreign policy—Anti-Comintern Pact* (1937). Italy had strongly opposed the German coup in Austria in July, 1934, but during the Ethiopian war her relations with Germany improved. In October, 1936, she signed an agreement with Germany regarding Austria. Mussolini persuaded Hitler to agree to respect the independence of Austria. This was the beginning of closer collaboration between the two countries and in November, 1937 Mussolini definitely joined the Berlin-Tokyo axis and signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Germany. In May, 1939 he concluded a political and military alliance with Germany (for details see next chapter).

(d) *Withdrawal from the League* (December, 1937) In 1937, like her allies Japan and Germany, Italy also withdrew from the League of Nations, thereby further weakening the world organization.

Italian foreign policy had paid good dividends. She had acquired "compensation" overseas and her territorial ambitions had been partly achieved. She was now in close treaty alliance with Germany and Japan who were bent upon upsetting the

Treaty of Versailles. Her unqualified support to Germany further strengthened the hands of Hitler in precipitating one crisis after another and ultimately culminated in the Second World War (for details see next chapter).

Conclusion: Italy in 1939 ✓

From a politically and economically weak State in 1919, Italy had emerged as a strong, powerful and economically self-sufficient State by 1939. The credit for this transformation went to the Fascist revolution and Fascist dictatorship.

The Fascists established law and order out of the chaos created by the Socialists and the Communists. They suppressed all opposition. Communism was buried deep. An efficient system of administration replaced the old corrupt and feeble government. Though Italy was still a constitutional monarchy, Parliamentary institutions were reduced to a mockery and a totalitarian State had been established. The Fascists had roused a new wave of nationalism among the Italians. They were now a homogeneous nation with a firm belief in their destiny. Economically, a series of laws resulted in the establishment of a Corporative State. A combined effort on the part of the public and private sectors achieved phenomenal industrial and agricultural expansion. The goal of economic self-sufficiency or economic nationalism was reached. The old breach with the Papacy was healed by the Lateran Treaty and the Concordat. The Catholic subjects no longer suffered from divided loyalties to the State and the head of the Catholic Church.

Externally, Italian ambitions of expansion had been amply realized by the acquisition of colonies abroad. Italian pride which had been hurt in 1919 was fairly vindicated by the Fascists. Italy was no longer a weak and impotent State. She was strong and possessed a powerful army, navy and air force. She was feared by other European countries. She could speak from a position of strength in 1939. The orations of her dictator, Mussolini, roused great confidence among his own people and sent a wave of fear among his enemies. Her international prestige was considerably enhanced by her alliance with Germany and Japan.

DEMOCRACY AND DICTATORSHIP IN GERMANY

With the failure of the German offensive in the spring of 1918, and the subsequent German defeats, the very foundations of Imperialist Germany were shaken. The military situation on the front was hopeless and the collapse of the German military machine was only a matter of time. But the internal situation was still worse. There was a grave economic crisis and the people were seething with discontent. An internal revolution against the Kaiser's autocratic regime was certain. The Socialists and the Communists were gaining ground and were greatly inspired by the success of the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. Towards the end of October and in the first week of November, signs of unrest and rebellion were not wanting even in the navy and the army. The naval mutiny at Kiel and the Socialist revolt in several cities sealed the fate of the House of Hohenzollern. The Kaiser fled to Holland on the 9th November, and Chancellor Maximilian resigned. A provisional democratic government under the Socialist leaders Friedrich Ebert and Philip Scheidemann took charge of the affairs of the State and Germany was proclaimed a Republic. The Socialist government signed the armistice on the 11th.

The Task of the Provisional Government

The Provisional Government was beset with two important tasks. It had to sign the Peace Treaty with the Allies and it had to draft a new constitution.

The Peace Treaty was ready by the end of April, 1919 and German plenipotentiaries signed it on the 28th June (see Chapter 27).

The Weimar Assembly and Constitution (1919). The Provisional Government summoned a Constituent Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise to draft a constitution. But from the very beginning the Communists, the so-called "Spartacans" led by Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg were hostile to the Provisional Government and to the proposal of a Constituent Assembly. Like the Bolsheviks in Russia they also wanted to establish a Communist regime in Germany. They were prepared to achieve their objective even with violent means. Hence on the eve of the elections to the Constituent Assembly they organized

uprisings in Berlin. The Socialists who dominated the government believed in realizing Socialism by constitutional and peaceful means. Liebknecht and Luxemburg were arrested and while on the way to a prison were killed. The Communist agitation was ruthlessly crushed.

The Constituent Assembly met at Weimar on 6 February, 1919 and by 31st July, drafted, enacted and adopted a new Constitution.

The Salient Features of the "Weimar" Constitution.

(1) Germany would be a federal Republic with a strong central government.

(2) The President, the Chief Executive, would be 'directly' elected by the people for seven years. He would appoint the Chancellor and other ministers. In times of grave national emergency he could suspend the Constitution and dissolve the Legislature.

(3) The Chancellor and his cabinet would be responsible to the Reichstag.

(4) The Legislature would consist of two Houses, the Reichstag and the Reichsrat. The Reichstag or the Lower House would represent the nation and would be elected by adult franchise on the system of proportional representation.

The Reichsrat would represent the 18 constituent States of the Republic.

(5) The institutions of initiative, referendum and 'recall' were incorporated in the Constitution.

(6) It also guaranteed fundamental rights to the people. Elections were held under the new Constitution. Ebert was elected the first President and Scheidemann, the Socialist leader, was appointed the first Chancellor.

The Democratic Government (1919-33)

The democratic government established under the Weimar constitution was faced with grave external and internal problems. Unless it could solve them successfully it was bound to come to grief.

(1) **External Problems.** The Treaty of Versailles was regarded as extremely humiliating. Reparations and later the occupation of the Ruhr were intolerable to the proud German people (see Chapter 27).

(2) **Internal Problems:** (a) *Economic conditions.* We have already discussed in this chapter the causes of the economic

chaos that prevailed in all the belligerent countries. In Germany economic conditions were further worsened by the demand of the Allies for reparations.

(b) *Party Strife*. There were far too many political parties in Germany to ensure a smooth working of the democratic constitution. The Nationalists on the Right wanted to restore the monarchy, the Communists on the extreme Left got their inspiration from Russia and aimed at establishing a "dictatorship of the proletariat". In between these two extremes there were the Socialists, the Catholic Centrists and the National Liberals who wanted to give a chance to the new constitution. Party rivalries were acute and no single party could claim an absolute majority in the Legislature. So under the circumstances only a coalition government was possible and coalitions were usually very unstable. Hence the German government was bound to be a weak government from the very start.

Achievements of the Democratic Government

A. IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

(1) **Solution of the Problem of Reparations.** Gustav Stresemann, a leader of the National Liberal or People's Party, was Foreign Minister from 1923 to 1929. He was a capable and shrewd politician and was highly respected by the Allies. Under his moderate direction the question of Reparations was amicably solved by the Dawes Plan (1924) and the Young Plan (1929). Foreign troops, which had occupied Ruhr on the non-payment of the reparation instalment in 1923, were withdrawn from German soil. (For details see next chapter.)

(2) **The Locarno Pact (1925) and the Kellogg Pact (1928).** In co-operation with Chamberlain and Briand, the foreign ministers of England and France respectively, Stresemann was responsible for the signing of the Locarno Pact in 1925. This gave a sense of security to France and Belgium and eased the tension on the western border of Germany. It also resulted in a better understanding between Germany and the Western Allies. Consequently, she was admitted to the League of Nations in 1926 and was offered a permanent seat on its Council.

Relations between Germany and the other Powers also further improved on the signing of the Kellogg Pact in 1928. Germany

renounced the use of force to settle international disputes. (For details see next chapter).

B. IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Revival of Economic Prosperity. Economic conditions were also stabilized to some extent by the revival of industries and business. The problem of unemployment was minimized, the upward trend in prices was checked and some sort of economic security was guaranteed to the people.

Causes of the downfall of Democracy and the success of the Nazi Revolution

Notwithstanding the achievements of the democratic government, it could not survive on account of the following factors.

(1) **Democracy foreign to German genius.** A democratic constitution was against the very grain of German genius. From times immemorial they had been accustomed to only an absolute form of government. Democracy was foreign to their culture and traditions. The Germans were brave, courageous, and disciplined people. They were used to obeying the orders of their rulers, they could not understand parliamentary institutions and did not believe in government by discussion. Even the Frankfurt Parliament had failed in 1848 to give a democratic constitution to Germany. So the Weimar Constitution was inaugurated in a very unfavourable climate and under a serious handicap. Democracy, therefore, could not take deep root in the uncongenial German soil.

(2) **Hostility to the Treaty of Versailles.** The Treaty of Versailles was regarded as a national humiliation. Having overthrown the monarchy and established a Republic the Germans expected a just and not a harsh treaty. If the peace had been concluded with the Kaiser's government the terms could not have been more insulting and severe. The imposition of reparations, loss of territory in the east and west, the demilitarization of the Rhine, the reduction of the German armaments without a corresponding reduction in armaments by the Allies and occupation of her soil by foreign troops were bitter pills which the proud and highly sensitive Germans could never swallow.

The new democratic government which had accepted and ratified the Treaty was a living symbol of German humiliation and degradation. Its authority and prestige were considerably undermined. German nationalism would sooner or later over-

throw such a government. The Allies could not escape the responsibility and blame for weakening the Republican democratic government from the very beginning. If they had offered more reasonable terms, they would have strengthened its hands. As it was, the government stood discredited in the eyes of millions of German nationalists, irrespective of their party affiliations. The instability of the government and frequent changes of ministers were mostly due to the fact that the implementation of the terms of the Treaty caused innumerable internal difficulties for it.

(3) **Party Strife.** The democratic government also failed to curb inter-party rivalry. The Nationalists, supporters of the monarchy, and the Communists gained more and more ground and became a nuisance to the government.

The Nationalists under Kapp staged a coup in March, 1920 and captured the government buildings in Berlin. But, the Nationalist *Putsch* did not succeed on account of a general strike organized by the Socialists.

The Beer Hall Putsch (November, 1923). Once again the Nationalists made an attempt to overthrow the government under the leadership of General Ludendorff and Adolf Hitler, leader of the newly formed National Socialist Party. The government easily suppressed the coup. Hitler was arrested and sentenced to five years imprisonment though he was released after about nine months. While in jail he wrote the *Mein Kampf* (1924) outlining the theory of National Socialism and the programme of his party. The Communists also continued to harass the Government and in March, 1920 they organized a rising in the Ruhr district which was suppressed.

The entire internal history of the German Republic from 1919 to 1933 was a long and continuous struggle between the different parties to grasp political power. This rivalry caused frequent general elections and excited bitter party jealousy and in turn weakened the Republican government till finally it brought about its collapse in 1933. Power passed into the hands of a new political party, the National Socialists or Nazis.

(4) **The Rise of the Nazi Party or of National Socialism.** The rise of the National Socialist Party was identified with the fortunes of its leader Adolf Hitler (1889-1945). Hitler was an Austrian by birth and started his life as a house painter. During the War he took an active part as a soldier and was wounded on

several occasions. He was awarded the Iron Cross for bravery and distinguished service, but did not rise beyond the rank of a corporal. The German surrender in November, 1918, left an indelible impression on his mind. The defeat of the German military might, the flight of the Kaiser, the plight of the demobilized soldiers, among whom he himself was one, and the economic chaos were memorable events which affected the course of his future career. He could not reconcile himself to the German defeat and the consequent harsh and humiliating terms of the Treaty of Versailles. He made up his mind to rid Germany of the obnoxious shackles imposed on her by the Treaty. He had only two aims in life: the scrapping of the hated Treaty of Versailles, and the resurrection of Germany. He was convinced that Democracy or Communism would never be able to achieve these aims.

Internally, the country was torn by party strife and he sensed the danger which threatened the country from the activities of the Communists, who were getting more and more powerful, and from the weak-kneed policy of the coalition parties of the Centrists, the National Liberals and the Democrats. The country must be saved from the Communists and the feeble coalition parties. Hence there was the urgent need of a party which could not only crush the growing tide of Communism, but which would also reassert the national honour of the Fatherland.

Early in his life, Hitler had been greatly influenced by the writings of two political philosophers. One was Nietzsche and the other was Adolf Stocker. The philosophy of the 'super-man' of the former and the anti-semitic writings of the latter deeply influenced his political thought and programme.

He firmly believed that the Germans were the purest 'Aryans' and the Aryan race was superior to all other races. Hence Germany must establish her superiority over others. At the same time he had learnt to detest the Jews and associated them with the collapse and misfortunes of Imperialist Germany in 1918. Stocker's writings made him an inveterate enemy of the Jews.

In 1919, he organized a new party, the National Socialists, to achieve his aims, but for the next four years or so, its followers were very limited in numbers.

In 1923, as stated previously, Hitler was arrested and jailed on account of participation in the abortive Nationalist coup. While in jail he marshalled his ideas, aims and philosophy and embodied

them in the shape of a book *Mein Kampf* which was published in 1924. It created a sensation in Germany and beyond and became the "Bible" of the National Socialists or the Nazis, as they were popularly called.

The Nazi Ideology and Philosophy

A. POLITICAL

(1) **Supremacy of the State.** The State was superior to all people and its authority must be absolute. All power must be vested in the State and all activities, political, social and economic must be controlled by it. The individual must subordinate his ego to the welfare of the State. He must submerge his identity in that of the State. "People exist for the State, not the State for its people."

Such a State must be an authoritarian State where power should be concentrated in and wielded by a single party. "The best constitution and form of State is that which, with the most natural certainty, sets the best brains of the national community in posts of outstanding importance and influence."

Parliamentary institutions were incompatible with the conceptions and aims of a totalitarian State and hence they must either be subjected to the will of the Nazi party or completely abolished.

(2) **Suppression of all Opposition.** The authoritarian State should suppress all opposition and hence there was no room for any opposition parties to exist in the State. Party strife and party rivalries could not be tolerated in an authoritarian State.

(3) **Propaganda.** Education, the press, radio and all other means of propaganda must be strictly controlled by the party machine to grasp power and maintain itself in authority. Hitler himself was a great orator and swayed the minds of millions of people by his speeches.

B. ECONOMIC IDEOLOGY

(1) **Private Property and Enterprise.** Private property and private enterprise might be tolerated provided they were subordinated to the interests of the State. In this respect the Nazi totalitarian philosophy differed radically from the Communist philosophy which aimed at the dictatorship of the proletariat and complete control of the economic activity by the State.

(2) **Economic Development.** A phased programme of economic development was to be drawn up to improve industries and agriculture and to eliminate economic unrest. Private enterprise was to supplement the Government effort.

C. SOCIAL IDEOLOGY

(1) **Superiority of the German race.** The Nazi philosophy exalted the superiority of the German people as the purest representatives of the Aryan race over all other nationalities. As such, the Germans should dominate the rest of the world. The German was the "super-man" of Nietzsche and he alone had the right to rule the world. Since he was superior to all others he must not share power with them. He said, "The stronger must rule and not fuse with the weaker and so sacrifice its own greatness."

(2) **Anti-Semitic Policy.** The Jews were a parasite nation, they were "lesser breeds without the law". They were identified with the miseries of the German people. The economic crisis of Germany was entirely due to their un-national, selfish activities and hence they were responsible for the downfall of Imperial Germany. Lest they might repeat their nefarious activities, they must be exterminated. Consequently, the Nazis followed a "Jew baiting" policy when they grasped power.

D. FOREIGN IDEOLOGY

(1) **Denunciation of the Treaty of Versailles.** The Treaty of Versailles was humiliating to the national honour of the "choicest" people on earth and therefore it must be set aside. Loss of territory on the eastern and western frontiers, the imposition of reparations, occupation of her sacred soil by foreign troops and the loss of her colonies could not be tolerated by a self-respecting nation.

(2) **Demand for Greater Germany.** Germany must get back her former territories in Europe and her colonies abroad of which she was wrongfully deprived in 1919. All German people in Europe must be united in one State under one banner.

(3) **Rearmament.** Germany must rearm herself to achieve the object of creating a Greater Germany. Her forces had been reduced to only 100,000 men by the Treaty of Versailles. She had agreed to this in the vain hope that the Allies would also reduce their armies. Since they had failed to agree on general

disarmament, Germany was not bound by the terms of the Treaty. Her acceptance was conditional on the co-operation of the Allies in reducing their armaments.

REORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY

On the eve of the elections in 1925, the party was completely reorganized on the lines of the Bolsheviks in Russia, and the Fascists in Italy. Children's, Youth's and Student's organizations were opened under its aegis. Local branches were organized all over the country with Munich as headquarters. Hitler was elected as Chairman of the party. In Dr. Goebbels it had a wonderful propagandist. A large number of people joined it. The implementation of the programme of the party was likely to rouse bitter opposition in the country. Therefore to suppress all internal opposition, he organized two institutions, the Special Police or "S.S." with a distinctive uniform of black shirts and a select band of Storm Troops, popularly known as "S.A.", in brown uniform. These were to provide protection to the members of the Nazi party and they were to break up the meetings of the other political parties. In short, by their subversive and violent activities they were to stifle all opposition inside the country. Ex-servicemen joined these two institutions in large numbers.

STAGES IN THE RISE OF THE NAZI PARTY TO POWER

Thanks to Goebbels's propaganda every general election in the country contributed to the strength and popularity of the party.

In 1925, Marshal Hindenburg, the hero of Tannenberg, was elected President of Germany on the death of Ebert. His election marked the victory of the Rightist party and a defeat for the Communists.

It was hoped by the Nationalists that Hindenburg, a member of the old Prussian guard would work for the restoration of the monarchy. But he identified himself with the Republican government and supported the Weimar Constitution.

(1) **Election of 1930—Economic Crisis.** The country was passing through a grave economic depression in 1929 on the eve of a general election. It was feared that the Communists might exploit the situation and gain a majority. But the Nazis forestalled

them. They denounced the Young Plan of reparations which the government had recently accepted, as the chief cause of Germany's economic plight. This denunciation had a great hypnotic effect. A large number of lower middle class people as well as the industrialists who were afraid of the Communists joined and supported the Nazis. The result was that they gained substantial support in the country and secured 107 seats in the Reichstag.

Bruning, a Centrist, formed the government. He was honest and strong and persuaded the Allies to revise the Reparations programme and to withdraw foreign troops, but he could not cope with the internal unrest for which both the Communists and the Nazis were responsible.

(2) **Election of 1932.** In the general election of 1932, the Nazis further consolidated their position. They won 230 seats and formed the largest party in the legislature. Yet they were kept out of office.

The Centrists, Democrats and Socialists formed a coalition which was kept in power by the dubious support of the Socialists.

(3) **Presidential Election of 1932.** Hitler contested the election to the Presidentship in 1932, against Hindenburg and Thalmann, the leader of the Communist Party. Though he was defeated by Hindenburg he polled over 13 million votes against almost 20 million of Hindenburg's. The prestige of Hitler and the Nazi Party was steadily rising.

(4) **Papen's Ministry (1932).** Hindenburg was still popular, but he was getting old and was now prone to the influence of his friends. In 1932, he dismissed Bruning from the Chancellorship and appointed Franz von Papen as Chancellor. Papen was an aristocrat and a Nationalist. General Kurt Von Schleicher, an ultra-nationalist, was also included in the Cabinet. The new Cabinet had to face a hostile Reichstag, because it did not have a majority there. It had to depend for its support on the Nationalists and the National Socialists.

(5) **Election of November, 1932—Schleicher as Chancellor.** Von Papen still failed to acquire a majority, so he was dismissed and Hindenburg appointed Schleicher as Chancellor. The National Socialists were openly hostile to him. Von Papen was convinced that without the support of the National Socialists he would never be able to run the government. So he joined hands

with Hitler. The coalition of Papen and Hitler forced Hindenburg to dismiss Schleicher.

(6) **Hitler as Chancellor (30 January, 1933).** Hindenburg had no option but to appoint Hitler, the 'plebian' as Chancellor. Von Papen was appointed Vice-Chancellor. The National Socialists formed the government and they had risen to power by constitutional means.

Hitler suppressed the Communists ruthlessly with the help of his Storm Troops. But his government was yet an uneasy coalition of the Nationalists and the National Socialists.

(7) **The Reichstag Fire—Fresh elections (March, 1933)—Absolute majority for the Nazis.** The Reichstag building was gutted by fire and the occasion was made an excuse to purge the Communists who were blamed for its destruction.

Fresh elections were held and the National Socialists emerged with an absolute majority. Hitler was now secure in his position as Chancellor.

(8) **The Nazi Flag recognized by the State.** Hindenburg authorized the pulling down of the Republican flag in March, 1933 and instead two flags were hoisted: the black, white and red flag of the Empire and the "Swastika" of the Nazis.

In April, Hitler was invested with full dictatorial powers for four years to cope with the internal situation. The Weimar Constitution was dead. A new era was to begin. "... the democratic German Republic formally passed away and was succeeded by what was styled the 'Third German Empire' and what was essentially a dictatorship of the National Socialist Party".

Transition from Democracy to Dictatorship

Hitler was now firmly saddled in power and therefore he could implement the programme of the National Socialist Party which had been detailed by him earlier.

Step by step he suppressed all opposition and paved the way for the undiluted dictatorship of the National Socialist Party.

Hitler's Work

A. INTERNAL AFFAIRS

(1) **Anti-Jewish Measures.** The Jews were deprived of their citizenship rights. They were dismissed from public office and

in future could not hold any government posts. Many Jews fled the country. Hitler's anti-semitic policy evoked bitter criticism in the foreign press. Undaunted, Hitler continued their persecution. In 1938, they were deprived of their property.

(2) **Anti-Communist drive.** All Marxian propaganda was banned and with the help of his Storm Troops the Communists were suppressed and bullied into submission. Several leaders fled the country; some were imprisoned.

(3) **All Political Parties banned (June-July, 1933).** The National Socialist ideology could not brook any opposition and even the parties of the Centre and Right were banned. Only one party could function in the State. Several leaders of the new defunct parties were sent to concentration camps.

(4) **Withdrawal from the League of Nations (1933).** The International Conference at Geneva in 1933 failed to come to an agreement on the issue of general disarmament. Germany asserted her right to rearm if other powers did not disarm. Hitler withdrew his delegates from the Conference and Germany resigned from the League of Nations.

(5) **Endorsement of his Foreign Policy by the Electorate (November, 1933).** Hitler's attitude towards the Disarmament conference and the German withdrawal from the League were widely hailed by the people. In the past the German governments had yielded to foreign Powers. For the first time it defied them and asserted its rights. Hitler was a great psychologist. He knew that the moment was opportune to get his foreign policy endorsed by the electorate.

The plebiscite held in November, 1933 ended in an overwhelming majority in his favour.

(6) **Reichstag a purely Nazi body.** At the general election to the Reichstag in November, 1933, no candidates of any other party were allowed to stand and therefore the new Reichstag was a purely Nazi body.

(7) **The Constitution amended.** The Weimar Constitution which had already been set aside was given a constitutional burial. All state legislatures and executives were abolished and Germany was proclaimed a Unitary State—'The Third Empire'. The Reichstrat was abolished. In February, 1934, even the Reichstag was suppressed. The dictatorship of the National Socialist Party was now complete.

(8) **The Party purge (June, 1934).** Ernest Rohm, the Commander of the Storm Troops, was becoming a serious rival to Hitler's popularity. A purge was therefore necessary to get rid of the disloyal and undependable element in the party. Rohm and several other leaders were murdered and the opposition within the party was crushed.

(9) **From Chancellor to Fuhrer (August, 1934).** On Hindenburg's death on 2 August, 1934, Hitler abolished the office of President and amalgamated it with that of Chancellor. He was now the "Fuhrer" of Germany. The Nazi slogan, "One nation, one realm, one leader", was adopted with enthusiasm by the majority of the people.

Dictatorship of the National Socialist Party. The Republican democratic government was substituted by the dictatorship of the National Socialist Party which established a totalitarian and authoritarian State in Germany.

One by one all activities of the State were co-ordinated by the National Socialist Party to fulfil its programme. Only in one instance did Hitler have to admit partial failure. He could not crush the Catholic and the Protestant Churches in Germany and he did not want to pick a quarrel with the Pope or the Protestants. In all other respects the National Socialist Party was all powerful.

B. FOREIGN POLICY

One by one Hitler repudiated the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. (For details see Chapter 30.)

Reaction in Foreign Countries. Hitler's rise to power was watched with great apprehension by all foreign countries. He had avowedly stated on several occasions that his foremost duty would be to tear the Treaty of Versailles and to rearm and claim Greater Germany.

In pursuance of his aims he followed a vigorous and aggressive foreign policy which finally precipitated the Second World War.

The Achievements of Nazi Germany. Politically, the Nazi party under Hitler's leadership established law and order out of chaos. All opposition was ruthlessly suppressed and parliamentary institutions were replaced by a totalitarian State, which was completely dominated by the Nazis. Freedom of speech, expression and action were denied to the individual. Justice was restricted and the State represented "power simple, pure and uncontrolled".

Economically, German industry and agriculture made rapid strides and tremendous industrial expansion enriched the country. Side by side with the expansion of heavy industries production of consumer goods also went up considerably.

Militarily Germany rearmed herself and built up a formidable army, navy and air force.

Externally, one by one the obnoxious clauses of the Treaty of Versailles were repudiated and Hitler made no secret of his ambition to achieve a Greater Germany. He also strongly opposed the spread of Communism and signed the Anti-Comintern Pact with Japan and Italy. He also made a military alliance with both the countries. Within six years of his assuming power he raised Germany into the strongest and most feared State on the continent.

His diplomatic and aggressive moves were watched with great dismay and anxiety by the Great Powers.

In the preceding pages we have outlined the factors which helped in the establishment of dictatorship in Russia, Turkey, Italy and Germany. Practically all over Central Europe, except Czechoslovakia, some form of dictatorship became the political vogue. In all these totalitarian States, the State was exalted over the individual. We shall describe, in the next chapter, how the ambitions of these dictators in Central Europe precipitated the Second World War.

Chapter 30

TOWARDS THE SECOND WORLD WAR

THE Paris peace treaties brought the First World War to a close. It was hoped that they would open a new era of peace and hope. But contrary to the expectations of the peoples and notwithstanding the efforts of the League of Nations, Europe continued to plunge headlong towards another conflict and within two decades she was once again engulfed in the throes of a grimmer, fiercer and more devastating World War.

The causes of this drift towards another catastrophe were inherent in the terms of the Peace treaties themselves and the mutual suspicions of the Great Powers.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS OF EUROPE

A brief account of the post-war problems of Europe would enable the reader to better appreciate the course of future history. War-ravaged Europe was faced with various problems.

We shall discuss them separately but it must be borne in mind that they were inseparably interlinked and each had repercussions on the others.

I. *Political and Economic Chaos*

The last phase of the war had spelt political and economic disaster for Russia and the Central Powers. Grave political and economic unrest in Russia helped the Bolshevik Party in 1917 to oust the Imperial government of the Tsar. In Central Europe too the conditions were equally grave and the Imperial regimes of the Hohenzollerns in Germany and of the Hapsburgs in Austria-Hungary were over-thrown and were replaced by democratic governments. These new governments were faced with numerous difficulties from the very beginning. In the previous chapter we

have already discussed why they did not survive and gave place to dictatorships and totalitarianism, and how the Fascist and Communist governments solved their political and economic troubles.

II. *Threat of International Communism*

Another serious threat to Europe was posed by the militant attitude of the Bolsheviks. They were not content with the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat in Russia. Although anti-religious, they were fired with a religious fanaticism to convert the whole of Europe, nay, even the entire world to Communism. For this purpose they had organized the Third International in 1919 and under Trotsky's dynamic direction it spread its propaganda in foreign countries. Unstable economic conditions in most European countries ravaged by war provided a fertile soil for the germination of communistic ideas. Trotsky's task seemed easier because the Communists in each country looked up to Russia for guidance and help to overthrow their respective governments. The Third International was only too eager to extend a helping hand to them. International Communism, therefore, constituted a real threat to many countries.

Two factors, however, saved Europe from its clutches. Firstly, the death of Lenin in 1924 was a serious setback to Communism in Russia itself. After his death there was a split in the ranks of the Communist Party and there was a struggle for power between Stalin and Trotsky. The former opposed the aims of the Third International and wanted first to consolidate the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution inside Russia before spreading communism abroad. Communist propaganda at that stage was bound to create anti-Russian animosity in Europe and the new Bolshevik regime was yet not strong enough for another struggle with capitalist Europe. Trotsky, the exponent of International Communism, advocated the spreading of communistic propaganda abroad in the belief that attack was the best form of defence. If communism spread to other countries of Europe, its future would be safe in Russia. In the struggle for power between the two, Stalin won and Trotsky was expelled from the party. Later he was forced to flee the country. With his exile from Russia the danger of International Communism also abated (see Chapter 29).

Secondly, the rise of Fascism in Italy and of National Socialism

in Germany proved a strong bulwark against the onslaught of Communism. Though both Fascism and Nazism established totalitarian States like Communism they differed fundamentally from the latter in their basic approach to economic problems. Mussolini and Hitler did not favour economic "imperialism", that is, the complete control of all economic activity in the State by the government. They were prepared to allow private enterprise to supplement the output of the public sector, provided the interests of the former did not clash with those of the latter and provided the former did not exploit the workers for its own end and kept the welfare of the State in the forefront. Both ruthlessly crushed the Communists in their respective countries and made sure that the communist philosophy would not spread beyond the borders of Russia.

Communist parties, no doubt, were formed in some democratic countries like France and Great Britain also. In the former the party was quite active, but in the latter it failed to make any headway. Moreover, the threat of Nazi Germany to tear the Treaty of Versailles diverted the attention of the people in France from Communism to the urgent need of protecting the State from Hitler's aggressive designs.

III. *German Hostility to the Treaty of Versailles*

The Treaty of Versailles imposed harsh terms on Germany. Would she bear them meekly or would her national self-respect revolt against its humiliating terms? The future of peace in Europe would, therefore, depend to a large extent on her attitude to the problems of Reparations, Disarmament and Security and to a lesser degree upon the willingness of the victorious Allies, especially France, to modify the unreasonable terms of the Treaty of Versailles. A brief survey of the salient features of the Treaty would, therefore, enable the reader to better appreciate the causes of German hostility towards it.

(a) **Treaty of Versailles—a "dictated peace".** The Treaty of Versailles was a "dictated peace" and not a negotiated peace. The German delegates had no say in the deliberations of the peace conference. They were summoned to receive the draft treaty and were allowed only to submit written comments on it. They were not permitted to meet any Allied delegations. They were forced to sign the final draft within five days, under the

Allied threat of war. They were led into the conference room to sign the peace treaty as criminals. No common courtesies were exchanged with them. This grossly unjust and humiliating treatment of their delegates, hurt the national pride of the German people and left behind strong feelings of bitterness towards the Allies.

(b) **Wilson's "Fourteen Points" violated.** Germany had signed the armistice on the tacit understanding that the terms of the peace treaty would be based on the principles enunciated by Woodrow Wilson in his famous "Fourteen Points". Unfortunately the final draft deviated from these lofty principles in several respects on account of the French insistence on weakening Germany so that she might not again be a danger to her security. Consequently, Germany was deprived of large parts of her territory in the west and the east. France acquired Alsace and Lorraine. Belgium got Eupen and Malmedy and Denmark annexed a part of Schleswig after a plebiscite. Germany could reconcile herself to the loss of these territories. But she bitterly resented the alienation of predominantly German areas in the east, notably the cession of Memel and its hinterland to Lithuania and of the Polish "corridor" to Poland.

She was equally sore about the provision in the treaty which prohibited the Union of Germany and Austria. She was also deprived of all her colonies. All these provisions were "indefensible once the Allies had announced the self-determination of peoples as the guiding principle of the territorial settlement. These and other discrepancies between principle and practice gave an easy handle to those who wished to argue that the Versailles treaty was a tainted document and that the Allies had violated the conditions on which the armistice was concluded."

IV. *The Problem of Reparations*

German resentment with the Treaty of Versailles was further heightened by the question of reparations. The Allies held Germany guilty of causing the War, and so they argued, she must be made to pay for all the damages done to Allied property. In the past too, war indemnities had been imposed upon the vanquished nations, but what was new about the proposal was that Germany was held responsible for the entire destruction caused by the war. France and Great Britain were led away by

a spirit of vindictiveness and put forward colossal claims for reparations. These were certainly contrary to the principles of Wilson's "Fourteen Points" which had made no mention of reparations at all. In vain did Wilson try to convince the English and the French that they should not overburden an economically ruined Germany with the additional load of reparations. When France and Great Britain remained adamant, the issue of reparations was submitted to a Commission. Reparations were imposed on Austria also. Later in this chapter we shall discuss in detail how this thorny question embittered relations between Germany and the Allies and how Germany's economy was completely ruined. In the end she repudiated the payment of reparations in 1933.

V. *The Problem of Disarmament*

The Treaty of Versailles imposed further disabilities on Germany. She was subjected to heavy disarmament. Her army was restricted to 100,000 soldiers, and conscription was prohibited. Her navy was reduced to six battleships "with a corresponding number of cruisers and destroyers". She was not allowed to keep any submarines or military aircraft. She had been forced to surrender her big ships. She was prohibited from building any fortifications. Rhineland and Kiel area were demilitarized. Armament factories were strictly limited. Allied troops occupied the Rhineland to make sure that the military clauses of the Treaty were carried out by her. They were withdrawn only in 1927.

In short, her military humiliation was complete. Once the strongest military State in Europe, she was now reduced to a third-rate power.

The armies of Austria and Hungary too were reduced to 30,000 and 35,000 soldiers respectively.

When the Allies restricted the armaments of Germany, Austria and Hungary it was stipulated that other Powers too would reduce their armaments proportionately. This did not happen. The Allies refused to limit their armaments. Germany bitterly attacked the Allies for not doing so.

We shall discuss below why the Disarmament Conferences failed to reach an agreement and why Germany repudiated the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

VI. *The Problems created by the Treaty of St. Germain with Austria*

The Austrian dominions were completely dismembered. She was reduced considerably in size and population (for details see Chapter 27). Once a mighty Empire she was reduced to the position of a third-rate power. Not only was she politically impoverished by large cessions of territories, she was practically ruined economically. There was scarcity of food in Vienna itself. Most of the industrial areas had been snatched away from her and her trade was crippled by the heavy tariff walls raised by her neighbours. Her economic plight was so miserable that the Austrian Reparations Commission gave up all hopes of realizing war indemnity from her and instead had to provide economic relief to her starving people. Her only salvation lay in a union with Germany and this was expressly prohibited in the Treaty. Her pitiable economic condition posed a very serious threat to the security of Central Europe.

VII. *The Problem of Security*

Though the War had ended, the Great Powers suffered from a sense of insecurity. This feeling was born out of their distrust of one another. What was security for one State was insecurity for another. These conflicting conceptions of security made some of the Powers nervous and eager to search for allies.

An analysis of the national interests of each Great Power would help us better to understand the problem of security.

(a) **The French Interests.** France had been the victim of German aggression several times in the 19th century. In 1871 Germany had wrested Alsace and Lorraine from her and had destroyed her towns and cities. During the First World War her eastern and north-eastern provinces had been ravaged by her again. She had paid dearly in men, money and material to win the War. By the Treaty of Versailles she had recovered Alsace and Lorraine. Her deadliest enemy had been made innocuous militarily for the time being. But would she ever remain so weak? Would she not one day repudiate the Treaty and turn the tables on France? As long as Germany ruled over the territory to the left of the river Rhine, it was always a grave threat to the security of France. Hence at the Peace Conference France demanded the so-called "physical guarantee", that is the extension of French frontiers up to the Rhine. This demand was rejected by the

Allies, but in order to allay her fears, the Treaty of Versailles provided for the demilitarization of the Rhineland, and the occupation of the left bank of the Rhine by the Allied armies for fifteen years. Further, Great Britain and the United States signed a pact with her guaranteeing her frontiers with Germany. They promised to come to the rescue of France if she was attacked by Germany. These provisions gave her a sense of security temporarily.

This triple security Treaty between France, Great Britain and the U.S.A. became void because the American Senate refused to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. France bitterly criticized the U.S.A. for leaving her in the lurch. She "felt herself cheated". Hence she began to search for other allies and she refused to limit her armaments and adopted an intransigent attitude at the disarmament conferences.

(b) **The British Interests.** Great Britain being an insular State was not so much worried about her security or that of her dominions beyond the seas, as long as her naval supremacy remained intact. That was why she did not favour any naval disarmament.

Moreover she apprehended that France one day might become a rival and challenge her naval supremacy. So she wanted to maintain a balance between France and Germany.

This attitude accounted for the sympathetic British policy towards Nazi Germany in the early years of Nazi rule.

(c) **The Italian Interests.** Relations between Italy and Yugoslavia were strained on account of their jealousy and rivalry in Dalmatia. Italy was also hostile to Germany in the beginning because she feared that Germany might annex Austria and thus upset the balance of power in Central Europe. She also was unfriendly to France on account of the old colonial rivalry over Tunisia and Corsica.

She therefore wanted parity in armaments with France and she was also interested in maintaining the *status quo* in Europe.

(d) **The German Attitude.** The Treaty of Versailles had reduced her to a third-rate power. She had been subjected to terrible humiliation by its terms. Therefore in order to reassert her national honour she must tear the Treaty and once again demand her rightful place in the comity of nations.

We have already discussed in Chapter 29, the rise of Germany under Nazi dictatorship. The Nazi programme of armaments

and the demand for Greater Germany were real threats to the security of Europe.

(e) **Attitude of Small Powers.** The newly created States of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania were interested in maintaining the terms of the Peace Conference. But they were apprehensive of Germany and Russia. They would, therefore, welcome pacts among themselves or with any other Great Power.

The old small States of Rumania, Bulgaria and Greece had their petty rivalries, but they hardly constituted a threat to European peace.

We have briefly surveyed above the major problems which confronted Europe immediately after the Peace Conference. In the succeeding pages we shall discuss how in the next two decades some of these problems were solved by agreement or by the lapse of time and how certain others became more and more complicated and ultimately led Europe to the brink of another war.

International relations from 1919 to 1939 can be conveniently divided into three phases: A. The period of enforcement, or settlement; B. The period of fulfilment; and C. The period of repudiation.

A. THE PERIOD OF "ENFORCEMENT" OR "SETTLEMENT" (1919-24)

I. *The Problem of Security*

International relations during this period hinged chiefly round the question of French security, reparations and disarmament. There were also minor pin-pricks caused by the mutual rivalry and jealousy of the newly created States in Central and Eastern Europe. The most thorny question was the problem of French security. As stated earlier, France was most concerned about a 'war of revenge' on the part of Germany. She had tried to get a guarantee against possible German aggression by the defensive treaty with Great Britain and the U.S.A. But it had become void on account of the refusal of the American Senate to ratify the Treaty of Versailles. France therefore felt terribly let down by her Western Allies. She was extremely worried about her security.

The League of Nations had been established to prevent all future wars and to settle all international problems peacefully.

Article 10 of the Covenant of the League guaranteed to respect and preserve the territorial integrity of the member States against foreign aggression, and Article 16 also provided for "economic sanctions" against aggressive States. But France was not satisfied with these provisions. She had but little faith in the ability of the newly established League of Nations to enforce these provisions. Therefore for the next four years she unceasingly followed a two-fold policy: one of obtaining a guarantee from Great Britain and the other of making alliances in the East and the West with countries which suffered from a common fear of Germany.

(1) **British Guarantee.** France continued to insist on obtaining a guarantee of assistance from Great Britain against German aggression. In January 1922, Great Britain offered to give a guarantee, but the French government insisted on a closer military alliance with her. The latter was not prepared to commit herself any further and so the matter ended.

(2) **System of Alliances.** France was not satisfied with the British attitude and so she looked to all those States which were apprehensive of German aggression for alliances.

(a) *Alliance with Belgium (September, 1920).* Belgium had been ravaged by Germany in the First World War, and like France she too wanted security against German aggression. So in September, 1920, she made a treaty of mutual assistance with France.

(b) *Alliance with Poland (February, 1921).* Poland, which was a fairly big State in Eastern Europe in the 18th century had ceased to exist as a result of three partitions inflicted on her by her neighbours, Prussia, Austria and Russia in the latter half of the 18th century. At the Paris Peace Conference, Poland was resurrected. The new Poland was beset with numerous problems from the very beginning. Her people were not united. For over a century they had lived under different systems of administration. They had no spirit of patriotism. Her frontiers were vulnerable and her new neighbours, like the old ones were equally hostile to her.

We shall study her relations with her neighbours below:

(i) *Poland and Czechoslovakia (1919-20).* Austrian Silesia, which was rich in coal, was the bone of contention between Poland and Czechoslovakia. There was a grave danger of a war between the two over the issue. But mediation by Great Britain and France averted it and a settlement was reached. Czechoslovakia got the coal mines though the town of Teschen was assigned to

Poland. However, the arrangement did not satisfy either side and relations between them continued to be strained.

(ii) *Poland and Russia* (1919-20). We have already referred to the Polish-Russian war of 1919-20 in the last chapter. Poland took advantage of the Great Civil War in Russia. Goaded by the Polish landlords who had been dispossessed of their lands in the Russian Ukraine and who had now taken shelter in Poland, she invaded the Ukraine. After initial successes she was repulsed. By the Treaty of Riga the frontiers between Poland and Russia were defined. However ill-will between the two countries continued.

(iii) *Poland and Lithuania* (1919-22). The apple of discord between the two countries was the city and district of Vilna. It was desired by both. It had been the capital of Lithuania in the Middle Ages, but had been annexed by Poland in the 16th century.

During the Polish-Russian War of 1919-20 Vilna changed hands several times. Marshal Pilsudski, the Polish President, captured it from the Russians in April, 1919. The Bolsheviks counter-attacked and recaptured it in June, 1920. Later they evacuated it and handed it over to Lithuania in August, 1920. Poland did not reconcile herself to its annexation by Lithuania and so a war between Poland and Lithuania broke out in 1920. The Poles were beaten and by an armistice signed between the two in October, Vilna remained in Lithuanian hands. The Poles were not sincere about observing its terms, and General Zeligowsk, and his free-booters attacked Vilna and occupied it, though, officially the Polish government disowned all responsibility for their actions. Feelings between the two countries ran high. The League of Nations failed to settle the dispute and Vilna remained in Polish hands. In 1923, the Allies formally recognized its annexation by Poland though Lithuanian hostility continued.

(iv) *Poland and Germany*. Poland had been assigned the "corridor", giving her access to the sea, at the Peace Conference. It had divided East Prussia from the rest of Germany. The Germans could never reconcile themselves to the division of their Fatherland, and hence relations between them and the Poles were extremely strained. Moreover, the Germans were very sore about the Polish treatment of the German minority in Danzig. The Polish-German hostility constituted a grave threat not only to the security of Poland but to the whole of Europe.

Franco-Polish Treaty

Thus we find that Poland was surrounded by hostile neighbours all round. She naturally wanted security against them. Since Poland was, like France, equally apprehensive of Germany the two countries were drawn together and in February, 1921 a treaty of mutual assistance was signed between them.

(c) *France and the "Little Entente"*. The three States of Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia were popularly called the Little Entente. They had a common enemy in Hungary at whose expense they had acquired substantial territories at the Peace Conference. They suspected that if the Hapsburgs were restored to the Hungarian throne, Hungary might demand the reunion of her former territories. Moreover, they had a fair percentage of Hungarian minorities who looked to Hungary for deliverance one day. Therefore, to strengthen themselves against Hungary, these Powers concluded a series of defensive treaties among themselves.

Treaty between Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia (August, 1920). "Of all the States of Central Europe, Czechoslovakia was the most heterogeneous and from the military standpoint the most vulnerable." She had a mixed population of Czechs, Slovaks, Germans, Poles and Hungarians. She had been assigned Sudetenland which was predominantly a German district. She was therefore equally apprehensive of Germany. Therefore, in August, 1920, she concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with Yugoslavia. Its primary object was to enforce the observance of the Treaty of Trianon and to oppose a possible Hapsburg restoration. This Treaty formed the nucleus of other treaties among the members of the Little Entente.

In April, 1921 a *Treaty between Czechoslovakia and Rumania* and in June, 1921, a *Treaty between Rumania and Yugoslavia* completed the system of alliances among the countries of the Little Entente.

France welcomed these treaties and joined the Little Entente in encircling Germany.

Effects of these Treaties on the International Situation. These pacts were of doubtful utility and perhaps gave only a false sense of security to France and to her allies. It was problematic whether these small Powers would be able to render any effective help to France if a war between her and a rearmed and resurrected Germany broke out. It was equally doubtful if France would be

able to give any assistance to them, divided as they were from her by thousands of miles particularly when she was too preoccupied with her own security problems to spare any troops.

Then again a pact with Yugoslavia caused a serious rift with Italy which had her own interests in the Adriatic (for details see Chapter 29).

II. *Reparations*

We have already mentioned earlier in the chapter that the Allies held Germany guilty of causing the war and consequently asked her to pay "compensation for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and Associated powers and to their property". The Reparation Commission which had been appointed at the Peace Conference had to decide the following issues:

- (1) How much reparation should Germany be asked to pay?
- (2) What should be the mode of payment? Should it be in cash or in kind or in both? What yearly instalments should be fixed?
- (3) What should be the share of each ally?

A final assessment of the total amount was to be made before 1 May, 1921. In the meantime Germany was asked to pay an initial sum of £ 1,000,000,000. The Commission was also prepared to consider any "lump sum" offer by Germany in settlement of her total liability.

The Spa Conference (July, 1920). The Reparation Commission met at Spa in July, 1920. It was attended by the German Chancellor and Foreign Minister also. After a good deal of bargaining the share of the Allies was apportioned as below. France would get 52 per cent, Great Britain 22 per cent, Italy 10 per cent, Belgium 8 per cent, and other minor allies 8 per cent. Since Belgium had suffered the most she was to have priority in receiving payment up to the amount of £ 100,000,000.

Having settled the question of the share of each ally the Commission grappled with the problem of fixing the amount. No agreement could be reached over the "lump sum" offer. Nor could the Allies, particularly Great Britain and France, come to a

settlement between themselves. If the amount was fixed very high there was always a danger that under heavy economic pressure, Germany might turn Communist and in alliance with Russia might disrupt the entire economy of Europe. If the amount was not high enough, she might quickly recover her economic prosperity and pre-war military strength and then repudiate the Treaty of Versailles. The British Government did not want to fix the amount very high lest Germany might be ruined economically and be forced to defy the Treaty of Versailles. Moreover, she was interested in reviving her trade with Germany, and was consequently not averse to even encouraging German industry. The French, who had suffered much more damage than the British, had a hardened attitude towards Germany and insisted on bleeding her "white". While these endless discussions were going on in the Commission, the Allied troops occupied the towns of Dusseldorf, Ruhrort and Duisberg in March, 1921, as Germany had defaulted in making the preliminary payment of £ 1,000,000,000. After a good deal of deliberation the Commission finally fixed the amount at £ 6,600,000,000 in April, 1921.

The entire amount of reparations was divided into three categories of bonds, 'A', 'B' and 'C'. The 'C' Class bonds amounting to £ 4,000,000,000 were held in abeyance till German economy was sufficiently rehabilitated. Thus a major portion of the reparations was shelved almost indefinitely. A schedule of payment was drawn for 'A' and 'B' Class bonds, and Germany was to pay £ 100,000,000 per year in addition to 25 per cent of the value of her exports. Germany protested against the high figure and pleaded her inability to pay the amount, but the Allies threatened to occupy the whole of the Ruhr valley and bullied her into submission in May, 1921.

Economic Crisis in Germany (1921-23). An unwilling Germany was thus saddled with a very heavy financial burden. She was expected to pay a major part of the reparations in kind, that is, in coal, locomotive, machinery and other industrial products. She tried to discharge her obligation and made an initial payment in kind. But such payments very adversely affected the commerce of the Allied countries themselves, for their own goods were deprived of foreign markets. So payments in kind were suspended. German capacity to pay in cash depended on her economic recovery. Her overseas trade was crippled as she had lost her

colonies, and Russia, her biggest purchaser, had become Communist and no trade was possible with her. Her neighbours, particularly Poland, had raised very high tariff walls against her goods. Germany tried to boost her industry and commerce by the inflation of currency, yet the prospects of her economic recovery receded further and further. The hopes of her ever paying the reparations also grew dimmer and dimmer. With great difficulty she paid the first instalment of £ 50,000,000 in August, 1921. Her economic condition was pitiable and she was faced with a grave currency crisis. Inflation made the German mark practically worthless. There was a rapid fall in its value. From 20 marks to a pound sterling in pre-war days it had already fallen to 250 to the pound in 1920. Its descent further down was hastened by the imposition of heavy reparations and the bleak prospects of the revival of her foreign trade. By the winter of 1921 it fell to 1000 to the pound. Thereafter its further fall was "rapid and catastrophic". The Germans had no capacity to make payments in foreign currency and marks were worthless for the Allies. It was realized that Germany could pay no more and the British government proposed a moratorium for two years. France would not accept any such proposal and insisted that Germany must fulfil her obligations. She made counter-proposals and suggested the occupation of the whole of the Ruhr Valley, the most important industrial area of Germany. This would not only make France more secure against any possible German aggression but would also afford an opportunity to the Allies to control German industry and to recover part of the reparations from the profits of industrial output. This new policy of "productive guarantees" was strongly championed by Poincare, the French Prime Minister. In December, 1922, Germany defaulted by a small margin in making payment in kind. The Reparations Commission by a majority vote, against the wishes of Great Britain, declared Germany in "voluntary default" and decided to send troops to occupy the Ruhr. Consequently in January, 1923, without the approval of the British government, French and Belgian troops marched into the Ruhr. The Germans were outraged by this invasion and the whole country was swept by a wave of patriotic fervour. They decided on a policy of passive resistance and non-co-operation with the invaders even if it meant the ruination of their own industry. A general strike was proclaimed by the Germans. The French

retaliated by stopping all trade between the "occupied and unoccupied territory" and by imprisoning all those officials who non-co-operated with them. They also tried to extract reparations in kind but realized that their invasion had cost them far more than they could recover from the industrial output in the Ruhr. It brought untold misery to the German people with no proportionate gains to the French. The British did not approve of this forcible occupation of the Ruhr by the French and Belgian troops and consequently Franco-British relations were strained.

The Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr caused a further fall in the value of the mark and by the autumn of 1923 it had descended to the very low figure of 35,000 to the pound. The German government made no attempt whatsoever to arrest this fall in the value of the mark partly because of the chaotic economic conditions inside the country, and partly because if her financial condition improved, she would be forced to pay the reparations. On the other hand she hastened the downward trend by printing a large amount of paper currency. Germany became all the more determined to break the Treaty of Versailles and her relations with France became very bitter.

The inflation ruined the hopes of the Allies temporarily to recover any reparation from Germany but it was a still greater disaster for the German people themselves. It very severely hit the rich who were considerably impoverished by the fall in their bank accounts. But they still possessed lands and urban property and with difficulty maintained their position. The masses and workers were not as hard hit, because they had nothing to lose. Moreover, their wages rose as prices went up and as the mark fell. The worst sufferers were the middle class people who were completely ruined. In their misfortune they turned to the rising National Socialist Party for relief and in later years formed its greatest strength.

The economic crisis also caused the fall of the government and in the autumn of 1923 a new ministry with Gustav Stresemann as Chancellor and Foreign Minister was voted to power. By now it was obvious to the Allies that in her present financial state Germany could not pay any more reparations and that the entire question should be reopened and revised. The new German government was desirous of co-operation in resolving the deadlock.

The Dawes Plan (1924). The U.S.A. offered her services to

solve the reparations problem. As a result of international negotiations, a committee of experts consisting of the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium and the U.S.A., under the chairmanship of General Dawes, an American, was set up. Its chief object was to put the German economy on a firm and sound basis. Two factors helped the Dawes Committee in arriving at an amicable agreement. Firstly, Stresemann, the new German Foreign Minister, was very tactful and amiable and was eager to come to a settlement with the Allies over the issue of reparations. Secondly, the recalcitrant and anti-German ministry of Poincaré fell in May, 1924. The new Radical ministry of Herriot was anxious to solve the German economic crisis. As a result of the deliberations of the Dawes Committee the following plan was evolved:

- 50,000,000 gradually 125,000,000
- (1) The total amount of reparations was not changed.
 - (2) It was to be paid in instalments beginning at £ 50,000,000 and gradually rising to £ 125,000,000 per year. The revenues from Railways, German industries and customs duties on alcohol, sugar and tobacco were treated as security to ensure payment of these instalments.
 - (3) Germany was to make the payment in marks and not in foreign currency.
 - (4) A neutral Agent-General for Reparations Payment was appointed to supervise implementation of its recommendations.
 - (5) The German Reichsbank was reorganized under Allied supervision and Germany was advanced a loan of £ 40,000,000 from the Allies to rehabilitate herself.

In April, 1924, the Germans accepted the Dawes Plan and the French and the Belgian forces were withdrawn from the Ruhr. The German government also issued a new currency which, established the value of the Reichsmark at the pre-war level of 20 to a pound.

The Dawes Plan had several merits. Firstly, it created a conciliatory political climate and removed to a large extent German hostility towards France. Secondly, it transferred the question of reparations, from the political to the commercial sphere in as

much as it was taken out of the hands of the Reparations Commission and was now entrusted to a neutral Agent-General who was an American named Parker Gilbert. Thirdly, it reassured the Allies by laying aside certain fixed sources as security for payment. Fourthly, Germany was allowed to make the payments in her own currency and the problem of transferring it to the foreign currency was to be dealt with by the Allies. This was done to protect the German mark from the possibility of another fall. Fifthly, the grant of a foreign loan to Germany helped her to recover her economy and prosperity and at the same time enabled her to meet her obligations under the Plan.

Yet the Plan had certain demerits also. Firstly, it did not tackle the question of the total amount of reparations nor did it fix the number of instalments Germany was expected to pay. Secondly, the grant of an Allied loan to Germany encouraged her to borrow more and more money from foreign creditors and with the help of these loans she rebuilt her economy much faster than was expected by the Allies. Thirdly, it left no incentive to the German government to save any money, because all her savings would have gone towards the payment of the reparations.

The acceptance of the Dawes Plan by both the Allies and Germany certainly augured well for the future relationship between them, and it was expected that it would remove much of the indignation and bitterness in Germany caused by the French occupation of the Ruhr.

III. *Allied Occupation of the Rhineland and Disarmament*

Another tangled and controversial subject in the relations between Germany and the Allies was the question of the Allied occupation of the Rhineland and Disarmament. By the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, to which we have already referred earlier in this chapter, her armed strength was considerably reduced. Kiel and Rhineland had been demilitarized. Allied troops had occupied the latter for 15 years. An Inter-Allied Commission consisting of the British, the French and the Belgians had been established to supervise implementation of the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. In the beginning the British attitude towards Germany was as hostile as that of the French. But after the destruction of the German fleet when there was no danger of naval competition with Germany, the British attitude

towards military occupation softened down. The French, however, did not relent and soon serious differences of opinion arose among the members of the High Commission, on account of the French policy in the French occupied sector of the Rhineland. The French imported coloured troops into the Rhineland. Their arrival was strongly resented by the Germans who magnified the alleged atrocities committed by them and demanded their withdrawal. American and British public opinion also denounced the French and openly supported the German demand.

Another episode which further alienated the British from the French was the French support to a "Separatist" movement in the Palatinate in the autumn of 1923. At this moment Franco-German relations were extremely antagonistic on account of the French occupation of the Ruhr district on the failure of the Germans to pay the reparations instalment in full (see p. 458). The French encouraged a few disgruntled and dissatisfied Germans in the Palatinate to demand autonomy for themselves. The French government in spite of British opposition recognized the "Separatist" government which expelled German officials. Great Britain vigorously protested to the French government which under international pressure abandoned the support and the movement soon fizzled out. These incidents strained Anglo-French relations.

DISARMAMENT

Differences between the British and French policies towards Germany were further aggravated over the issue of Disarmament. When the armies of Germany, Austria and Hungary were limited at the Peace Conference, it was stipulated that the Allies too would carry out reduction in their armaments proportionately and general disarmament would be effected. But such hopes were belied on account of the conflicting conceptions of national security among the Great Powers.

FACTORS WHICH COMPLICATED THE PROBLEM OF DISARMAMENT

The problem of disarmament was intricately connected with the question of national security and here the views of the Great Powers were widely divergent.

British Attitude. Great Britain was a great naval power. She would not allow any naval competition. She had resented

the German naval programme and her hostility to pre-war Germany was roused on this score.

After the War, she feared naval competition from the U.S.A., Japan and even France. Therefore, she did not favour reduction in naval armaments, but she was prepared to reduce her land forces. She needed a strong navy to protect her vast overseas empire.

French Attitude. France had been guaranteed her eastern frontiers by Great Britain and the U.S.A. at the Peace Conference. But since the U.S.A. did not ratify the Treaty, the pact became ineffective. France felt she had been badly let down by America. Therefore she would not accept any reduction in the land forces for fear of her security. She could however, consent to reduction in armaments only if Great Britain and the U.S.A. jointly guaranteed her frontiers and there was a corresponding reduction in naval armaments by Great Britain. For reasons of security France therefore turned to other allies and made pacts with them, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.

Italian Attitude. Italy wanted parity with France, but France would not accept the Italian claim.

American Attitude. The U.S.A. was also deeply interested in disarmament, but she wanted to have her navy on a par with that of Great Britain. At the same time she was apprehensive of the Japanese designs of expansion and was eager to come to a settlement on the issue of naval disarmament.

French intransigence therefore made it impossible to agree upon a general plan of disarmament. Notwithstanding the French attitude attempts were made to limit naval and land armaments at several conferences. Though no agreement could be reached on the question of land disarmament, some headway was made in the settlement of naval disarmament at the Washington Conference.

The Washington Conference (1921-22). The U.S.A. was alarmed at the Japanese acquisition of Kiaochow from Germany and also of the mandate for the German islands in the Pacific after the War. Already her naval strength in the Pacific was disquieting to the Americans. Therefore the U.S.A. took the initiative and summoned the representatives of Great Britain, Japan, France, Italy, China, Belgium, Holland and Portugal to Washington "to participate in a conference on the limitation of armaments, in connection with which Pacific and Far Eastern Question would also be discussed".

After protracted negotiations three treaties were drawn:

(1) *The Four Power Treaty*. It was concluded between Great Britain, the U.S.A., Japan and France which agreed to guarantee each other's rights in their insular possessions in the Pacific and promised to consult each other if they were threatened.

(2) *The Five-Power or Naval Armaments Treaty*. It was signed between Great Britain, the U.S.A., Japan, France and Italy. According to it, for ten years the tonnage of battleships of these Powers was fixed in the ratio of 5 : 5 : 3 : 1.67 : 1.67 respectively, that is, parity was accepted between Great Britain and the U.S.A., Japan's total strength was fixed at 60 per cent of the British and American tonnage and the quota of France and Italy each at 35 per cent. This ratio did not apply to light cruisers, destroyers and submarines upon which no limit was placed. Great Britain opposed limitation of light cruisers and France of submarines. However, submarines were not to be used against merchant or passenger ships. The Great Powers also agreed not to build new battleships over 10,000 tons with more than 8-inch guns for another 10 years.

(3) *The Nine Power Treaty*. It guaranteed the territorial integrity and independence of China and upheld the principle of the "Open Door" policy, that is no Power would take advantage of the internal weakness of China "to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects and citizens of friendly states".

In addition to these treaties another treaty known as the *Shantung Treaty* was also signed between Japan and China, by which the former returned Kiaochow to the latter.

Importance of the Washington Conference. Though the Conference could not effectively control naval rivalry among the Great Powers for a long time, on account of its failure to limit the strength of light cruisers, destroyers and submarines, it "was hailed not without reasons as an outstanding success". For the first time since the American Senate refused to ratify the Peace treaties, the U.S.A. participated in an international conference. It brought an end to the Anglo-Japanese alliance which was looked upon with disfavour in several parts of the world. It checked the Japanese designs of aggrandizement in the Far East and her programme of naval expansion. Finally, it restored the pre-war naval balance in the Pacific and lessened tension in the Far East.

The success of the Washington Conference would largely depend upon the future attitude of Japan. How long would she give up her aggressive policy in the Far East and submit to the humiliation suffered by her at the Conference?

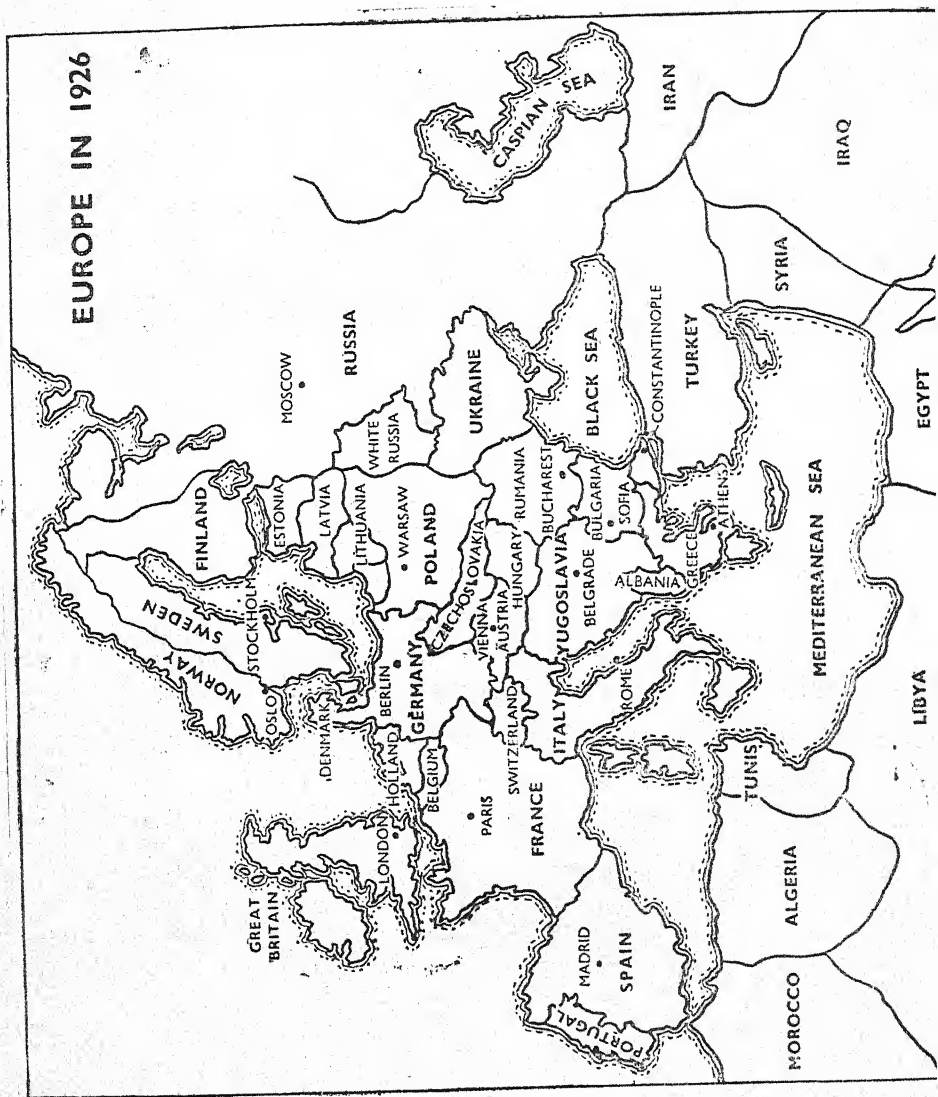
Thus we find that at the end of the first phase of international relations between the two world wars, France had surrounded Germany by a network of treaties of alliances in order to ensure her own security against possible German aggression. Her entire foreign policy was aimed at preserving the peace settlement and to oppose any demand for its revision by Germany. The problem of reparations seemed to be temporarily solved by the Dawes Plan but the solution of the complicated problem of disarmament still eluded the statesmen of Europe.

B. THE PERIOD OF PACIFICATION OR FULFILMENT (1924-30)

I. *The Problem of Security*

In spite of the alliances with Belgium, Poland and the Little Entente, France still felt insecure against Germany. Therefore her search for security continued and now she turned to the League of Nations. She wanted to strengthen the Covenant of the League by removing its weaknesses. By Article 10, the member States undertook "to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and existing political independence of all members of the League". Article 11 declared it to be the right of a member State "to bring to the attention of the Assembly or of the Council any circumstances whatever affecting international relations which threatened to disturb international peace or the good understanding between nations upon which peace depends". Article 12 stipulated that all international disputes likely to cause a war should be submitted to the League for arbitration or judicial settlement or for enquiry by the Council and no war was to be declared by the disputants until three months after the decision of the arbitrators or the Council. Article 16 provided "the severance of all trade or financial relations" with the nation which resorted to war. The Council could also recommend "to the several governments concerned what effective military, naval or air force the members of the League shall severally contribute to the armed forces to be used to protect the Covenant of the League". But

Fig. 14



such a recommendation required a unanimous vote of the Council and it was not binding on the member States.

According to the French these clauses of the Covenant suffered from two weaknesses. Firstly, they did not define aggression. Secondly, they did not provide precisely what action would be taken against the aggressor. If these gaps in the Covenant could be filled, France would feel more secure. Hence two attempts were made to remove the weaknesses of the Covenant mentioned above in order to strengthen the international machinery for preserving peace.

On the proposal of Lord Robert Cecil, the chief British delegate to the League of Nations, the Assembly of the League evolved a draft "Treaty of Mutual Assistance". It was an attempt to define aggression and to devise a machinery to guarantee peace. It vested in the Council of the League the right to pronounce the aggressor within four days of the outbreak of hostilities and made it obligatory for the member States to render military aid to the aggrieved party. Thus it strengthened Article 16 of the Covenant by making military sanctions automatic and obligatory as against recommendatory hitherto and not dependent on the will of the individual States.

This proposal was submitted to the Assembly in 1923 and the draft was referred to the member States. France hailed it, as it satisfied her needs of security and ensured her military aid in case of aggression by Germany. But Great Britain, the British Dominions, Sweden, Norway and Holland rejected it as they were not prepared to be involved militarily in another European or non-European conflict. So that was the end of the draft proposals.

(2) **The Geneva Protocol (1924).** In 1924, consequent upon the acceptance by Germany of the Dawes Plan for reparation payments, the tension in international relations had considerably eased. Even in France there was a desire to follow a more conciliatory policy towards Germany. Through the efforts of Ramsay Macdonald, the British Prime Minister, and Heriot, the French Prime Minister, who personally attended the session of the Assembly, fresh efforts were made to strengthen the Covenant of the League. As a result of their labours the Geneva Protocol or "Protocol for the pacific settlement of international disputes" was drafted and submitted to the Assembly.

It clarified the Covenant by "closing its loopholes". All international disputes must be settled by compulsory arbitration or conciliation. Any nation which was unwilling to submit its case for arbitration was to be pronounced as "aggressor". The Council was empowered to appoint a committee of arbitration and its decision was final and binding. It also stipulated that all disputes of a legal character must be submitted to the Court of International Justice at the Hague. It also recommended that the Disarmament Conference should meet on 15 June, 1925.

The Geneva Protocol had several flaws. Firstly, unlike the Treaty of Mutual Assistance it did not make military sanctions obligatory against the aggressor and so was less acceptable to France. It also aimed at maintaining the Peace Settlement, in as much as any demand for its revision was not to be treated as a dispute and consequently did not provide any means of revising the Peace Treaty.

From the very beginning like the Treaty of Mutual Assistance it met with stiff opposition from the member States. While the draft was under discussion Japan which had been adversely hit by the immigration laws passed by Canada, Australia and New Zealand proposed an amendment to the effect that disputes arising out of domestic jurisdiction should also be brought before the League. The Dominions reacted sharply to this amendment and strongly opposed the Protocol. In England also public opinion did not support the proposal of compulsory arbitration and the application of sanctions against the aggressor. Meanwhile, the Labour government in England also fell as a result of fresh elections in March, 1925 and the new Conservative government rejected the Geneva Protocol. It met with the same fate as the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance.

Locarno Conference and Treaties (1925). The final rejection of the Geneva Protocol was certainly a setback to the prestige of the League which "had definitely failed to produce a general system of sanctions" against the aggressor. Henceforth countries tried to seek security from aggression by means of regional pacts and alliances. This system was helped by several factors. Firstly, the new French government of Heriot was less anti-German than its predecessor under Poincare. Secondly, Stresemann, the new German Foreign Minister, was more accommodating and co-operative in seeking a solution of the Franco-German problem.

Thirdly, Germany was eager to secure the evacuation of the Rhineland by the Allied forces. Fourthly, she was also desirous of joining the League. So there was a general atmosphere of conciliation in Europe. Therefore when Germany proposed in February, 1925 a Rhineland Mutual Guarantee Pact, the British and the French governments welcomed the proposal. Details of the scheme were worked out by Austen Chamberlain, Aristide Briand, and Stresemann, the British, French and German Foreign Ministers, respectively. Great Britain facilitated the solution of the problem of French security as she was prepared to guarantee the Franco-German frontier against aggression by either Germany or France. Italy also offered to become a co-guarantor with Great Britain. The same guarantees were to apply to the Belgian-German frontier also. After the conclusion of the pacts, Germany was to enter the League of Nations.

But there were still two difficulties to surmount. Firstly, Great Britain was not prepared to guarantee the eastern and southern frontiers of Germany with Poland and Czechoslovakia, nor was Germany prepared to accept these frontiers as final, though she affirmed that she would not seek a revision of the Treaty of Versailles in their respect by force. To overcome this difficulty arbitration treaties were signed between Germany and Poland and Germany and Czechoslovakia. The second difficulty arose as a result of the Treaty of Rapallo (1922) between Germany and Russia. Would Germany as a member of the League of Nations be called upon to take military action against Russia, in case Russia was involved in a war with the Western Powers, according to Article 16 of the Covenant? Germany was assured that since she had been disarmed by the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, she would not be called upon to give military aid against any aggressor. Having solved these two difficulties, the way was now clear for signing a number of regional pacts, popularly known as the Locarno Pact (December, 1925):

(1) Franco-German and Franco-Belgian frontiers were guaranteed by Great Britain and Italy.

(2) A Franco-Polish and Franco-Czechoslovakian treaty of mutual assistance against any aggression by Germany was also signed.

(3) Germany agreed that she would not resort to arms to demand a rectification of her eastern and southern frontiers and signed

arbitration treaties with France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Importance of the Locarno Pact. The Locarno Pact coming in the wake of the Dawes Plan was hailed by some as another landmark in solving the problem of security. It gave a nervous and tense Europe a sense of relief and security because Germany accepted her western frontiers and because she also pledged not to use violence to demand adjustment of her eastern or southern frontiers. Great Britain and Italy both guaranteed security to France and Germany. "It struck for the first time since the war a fair and impartial balance between French and German needs." Austen Chamberlain acclaimed it as "the real dividing line between the years of war and the years of peace". In view of the peaceful attitude of Germany she was admitted to the League of Nations and was offered a permanent seat on the Council. Yet in the eyes of some critics it was not an unqualified success. "In the long run the Locarno Treaty was destructive both of the Treaty of Versailles and of the Covenant", for the following reasons.

Firstly, Germany only voluntarily accepted her western frontiers, but was not morally bound to accept the eastern or southern frontiers imposed by the Treaty of Versailles.

Secondly, frontiers were divided into two classes. One was guaranteed by the Great Powers, the other was not. Thus it was implied that in spite of the Covenant of the League, the Great Powers were prepared to take military action for upholding certain frontiers, but were not prepared to defend certain others in which they were not interested.

Since Germany had not specifically bound herself to honour her eastern and southern frontiers, France renewed her alliance with Poland and the States of the Little Entente.

The admission of Germany into the League was not a smooth affair. When the proposal was mooted in March, 1926, Poland, Spain and Brazil all demanded a permanent seat on the Council and opposed the claims of Germany. Spain and Brazil were non-permanent members of the Council and they refused to vote in support of the admission of Germany unless their own claims were considered first. There was a complete deadlock. After protracted negotiations a compromise was struck. The number of non-permanent seats on the Council was raised from six to nine and three non-permanent members were re-eligible for election.

This satisfied Poland, but Spain and Brazil remained adamant and rather than impede the admission of Germany and accept the compromise they resigned from the League. In September, 1926, Germany joined the League and was offered a permanent seat on the Council.

The Kellogg-Briand Pact or Pact of Paris (1928). The spirit of international co-operation exhibited at Locarno continued to grow. In 1927, Briand, the French Foreign Minister, proposed to the U.S.A. the conclusion of a pact between France and America "renouncing war as an instrument of national policy". Since there was no danger of a conflict between the U.S.A. and France, such a pact would have been utterly superfluous. But Kellogg, the U.S. Secretary of State, put forward a counter-proposal and suggested to the Locarno powers "a plan for the renunciation of war". This proposal was universally acclaimed and 15 nations of the world including Great Britain, France, Germany and the U.S.A. signed the Kellogg-Briand Pact at Paris in August, 1928. Its signatories "renounced recourse to war as an instrument of national policy, and for the solution of international controversies". Later 65 States including the U.S.S.R. acceded to it.

It was yet another milestone in giving a sense of security to Europe. Firstly, it was supported and signed by the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. which were not members of the League of Nations and showed a healthy trend in international relations. Secondly, it considerably minimized the threat of war.

The Kellogg Pact remained only an expression of the pious hopes and aspirations of the Powers of the world.

International peace could only be ensured effectively by solving the problem of disarmament and so we must now turn our attention to it.

II. *Disarmament*

The complex problem of disarmament which had been only partially solved at the Washington Conference (1921-22) was further tackled by the Great Powers.

(1) NAVAL DISARMAMENT

(a) **The Geneva Conference (1927).** The Washington Conference had succeeded only in limiting the tonnage of capital ships. No agreement could be reached on the strength of the light

cruisers, destroyers and submarines. The U.S.A. was desirous of achieving an agreement on these classes of ships also. Consequently, she invited the other signatories of the Washington Agreement to a naval conference at Geneva in 1927. France and Italy declined the invitation. However, Great Britain and Japan reluctantly agreed to attend it. An attempt was made to limit the tonnage of light cruisers also, but since there was no agreement between the U.S.A. and Great Britain the Conference proved abortive and no agreement could be reached on the general issue of naval disarmament. By a separate agreement between Great Britain and France, the former was allowed superiority in light cruisers and the latter was allowed to build more submarines.

(b) **London Naval Conference (1930).** Yet another conference was summoned in London to effect further naval disarmament particularly in cruisers and submarines. Great Britain, the U.S.A., Japan, France and Italy attended it. From the very beginning the French strongly opposed the imposition of the Washington ratio on cruisers, on the plea that the security of her colonies required her to maintain a large fleet of cruisers. She would not even accept the proposal of increasing her ratio to half that of Great Britain and America, unless both these Powers guaranteed her security in the Mediterranean. Neither of these Powers were prepared to commit themselves to this extent and so France remained adamant; she also strongly denounced the Italian claim to parity with her. On account of the French intransigence, therefore, no general agreement on naval disarmament was possible. However, the five Powers signed a treaty "regulating submarine warfare and limiting the tonnage and gun-calibre of submarines". They also agreed to extend the Washington agreement by another five years.

Japan also sounded a discordant note, and for the first time demanded parity with Great Britain and the U.S.A. in all categories of naval ships. With great difficulty an agreement was reached between the three. Japan accepted the Washington ratio of 60 per cent of the British and American strength for battleships, but she was allowed to have 70 per cent in small cruisers and destroyers and parity in submarines. By the "Escalator clause" the signatory Powers were permitted to increase their tonnage over the specified limits if the needs of national security so demanded.

A separate agreement between Great Britain and the U.S.A. allowed the former to have superiority in light cruisers and the latter a corresponding superiority in large cruisers.

However the results of the London Conference were short-lived. In 1934, Japan denounced the Washington Agreement and demanded parity with Great Britain and the U.S.A. By 1935, once again there was an unseemly race for naval rearmament.

(2) LAND DISARMAMENT

When Germany was disarmed by the Treaty of Versailles it was hoped that other nations would also limit their armaments. Article 8 of the Covenant enjoined upon the Council of the League the responsibility of devising a plan of general disarmament. Yet in spite of its several efforts it failed to reach an overall agreement. Only partial success was achieved in the matter of the limitation of naval armaments at the Washington Conference. The biggest stumbling block in the way of a general agreement was the conflicting conceptions of national security entertained by the Great Powers. Yet the League continued to work for the limitation of armaments.

The League Commission (1925-31). The Locarno Pact roused new hopes, as the signatory Powers had agreed to limit their armaments. Consequently, in 1925 the League appointed a Preparatory Commission with the object of studying the problem and making recommendations to a Disarmament Conference to be convened later. It was attended by the U.S.A. and Germany also. Russia also joined it in 1927 and her representative Maxim Litvinov proposed "complete and immediate disarmament". But the Western Powers were suspicious of the Russian proposal and so rejected it.

The representatives of the Great Powers got involved in the labyrinth of endless discussion over the nature of armaments which were to be limited. There was a wide difference among the English, French and German points of view over the limitation of military personnel, the nature of military material and the amount of expenditure on the armed forces. Protracted negotiations went on for 5 years and in the end the conference failed to come to an agreement. It only produced a "draft treaty" which in principle provided for a limitation of land, naval and air armaments and which banned the use of poisonous gases and all other bacteriological

methods of warfare. It also provided for the setting up of a permanent commission to study the question further and to report to the Council periodically about the progress of disarmament.

III. *Inter-Allied Debts and Reparations*

During the War Great Britain had advanced large loans to other Allied countries to prosecute the War. As the War dragged on, she herself was forced to borrow huge sums from the U.S.A. Some other Allied countries also borrowed money from the U.S.A. The problem of paying back these inter-Allied debts became very complicated and soon it "became inextricably intertwined with the reparations problem".

The views of the Allied governments differed vastly on the issue of repayment of these debts. The U.S.A. which was only a creditor held that the continental Allies must pay back the loans with interest as a debt of honour. In 1922 she began to press for their repayment. The French pleaded their inability to pay unless and until the question of reparations from Germany was satisfactorily solved. She said she would pay only when she got her share of the reparations from Germany. Great Britain was a debtor as well as a creditor. She had borrowed extensively from the U.S.A. but she had lent huge sums to the continental Powers also. Left to herself she would have liked the entire cancellation of all war debts, but as she herself was obliged to pay her debts to the U.S.A. she was forced to ask her debtors to make payments to her. Therefore she addressed a communication, popularly known as the Balfour Note to her European allies in August, 1922 and proposed that in settlement of their debts they should pay her only that much amount as she was obliged to pay to the U.S.A. The Note was strongly resented in the U.S.A. as it suggested that if the U.S.A. had agreed to forego her demands on Great Britain, all inter-Allied debts would have been cancelled. Thus the "whole odium of debt collection" was placed on the U.S.A.

American public opinion did not favour cancellation of all inter-Allied debts and demanded their repayment from Great Britain. So in December, 1922 an agreement was reached between the U.S.A. and Great Britain whereby the former reduced her total demand by about 30 per cent and the latter agreed to pay her total debts in 62 annual instalments of about £33,000,000 each.

After the acceptance of the Dawes Plan by Germany a similar

agreement was concluded between Great Britain and her European allies, the former reducing her demands by about 80 per cent in the case of Italy and by about 60 per cent in the case of others.

The repayment of these debts was facilitated by means of loans from the U.S.A. and for the time being the problem of inter-Allied debts seemed to be solved.

The Young Plan (1929). "The Dawes Plan was admittedly provisional" and was "not, either in intention or in fact, a final settlement of the problem" of reparations. It had not modified the total liability of Germany under reparation payments as fixed by the Spa Conference. Germany continued to protest that the amount was excessive and she would never be able to repay it. In the context of improved relations with France as a result of the Dawes Plan and the Locarno Pact, Stresemann, the German Foreign Minister, was very eager to solve the problem for good. He was equally anxious to persuade the Allies to evacuate the Rhineland and to restore the Saar without holding a plebiscite in 1935. Public opinion in most European countries also favoured an early solution of these problems, and the Assembly of the League in 1928 recommended an early evacuation of the Allies from the Rhineland and set up a Committee of financial experts to re-examine the question of reparations. The French insisted that the settlement of the question of reparations must precede the evacuation of the Rhineland.

The Committee of Financial Experts met in Paris (1929) under the chairmanship of Owen Young, an American financier. After long discussions the Young Committee recommended the following plan:

- (1) Germany should pay annual instalments, ending in 1988.
- (2) The first 36 instalments on an average would amount to £100,000,000.

(But only about £33,000,000 were unconditionally payable annually. The payment of the balance could be withheld by Germany for a maximum period of two years, if she was faced with exchange difficulties. The revenues of German railways were mortgaged as security for the payment of the "unconditional obligation".)

- (3) She should further pay 22 annual instalments to cover the payment of war debts of the Allies to the U.S.A.

- (4) Germany undertook the responsibility of transferring payments into foreign currency.
- (5) Foreign controls on certain specified sources of revenue under the Dawes Plan were abolished.
- (6) The Bank of International Settlements at Basle would help Germany to make these payments and transfer the amounts.

The Hague Conference (1929). A Conference of the Great Powers was held at the Hague in August, 1929 to consider and adopt these proposals. If accepted by Germany, the Conference was also to consider the details of the evacuation of the Rhineland.

Germany accepted the Young Plan. The Political Commission of the Hague Conference grappled with the problem of evacuation from the Rhineland. There was a general desire to meet the German demand for evacuation. Arthur Henderson, the British Foreign Minister, categorically declared that, settlement or no settlement, the British troops would be withdrawn from the Rhineland. The French had no option but to yield and the Conference decided that all Allied troops should be withdrawn from the Rhineland by 30 June, 1930.

The decision to evacuate the Rhineland was a personal triumph for Stresemann whose perseverance and diplomatic skill brought about a spirit of understanding with the Allies. But unfortunately he did not live to see the fruits of his endeavours and died in October, 1929.

It will be interesting to take stock of the condition of Europe in the year 1930 which ended the period of "fulfilment" (1924-30) and ushered in the final phase of repudiation and collapse. During the years 1924-30, several tangled problems of Europe were solved and there reigned an atmosphere of peace and conciliation.

Firstly, the problem of reparations seemed to be solved by the acceptance of the Young Plan by Germany and the Allies, though there were strong murmurs and signs of opposition to the Plan in Germany. Adolf Hitler, an orator of no mean calibre and leader of the hitherto insignificant National Socialist Party, together with Hugenberg, a nationalist leader, and other representatives of big business in Germany strongly opposed the acceptance of the Young Plan. Though their objections were over-ruled by President Hindenburg and his government, Hitler's opposition continued and in the election of 1930, the National Socialists polled 6,000,000

votes and captured 107 seats in the Reichstag. Henceforth the party grew from strength to strength and soon grasped political power in Germany and repudiated one by one the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. (For details see Chapter 29.)

Secondly, the period witnessed a spirit of understanding and conciliation that began to grow between France and Germany. The satisfactory solution of the problem of reparations led to the complete evacuation of the Rhineland by the Allies. This was a great victory for Germany. It was hoped that with the solution of the reparations problem and the evacuation of the Rhineland political stability would be established in Germany.

Thirdly, the period saw a remarkable spirit of international co-operation. The U.S.A. which had been following an isolationist policy after the non-ratification of the Peace Treaties, displayed a sympathetic interest in the economic and political problems of Europe. It was through her good offices that the problem of reparations was solved; it was again she who advanced large loans to the European countries to enable them to rehabilitate their economy and to repay the inter-Allied war debts and reparations. It was on the initiative of the U.S.A. that the Kellogg Pact was conceived and accepted by a large number of nations who abjured violence as an instrument of national policy. Even though she was not yet a member of the League of Nations, she had begun to take a keen interest in its activities and deliberations.

The League of Nations was further strengthened by admitting Germany in 1926 and offering her a permanent seat on the council. Even Russia began to co-operate with its activities and the Russian delegation attended the sessions of various conferences convened under the auspices of the League. The threat of international communism receded into the background after the fall of Trotsky and Zinoviev in 1926-27.

Fourthly, in the field of naval armaments partial success was achieved at the Washington Conference. The Disarmament Conference on land disarmament continued to grapple with the problem.

Yet in spite of these achievements, the closing months of the year 1929 were not bereft of disquieting forebodings. The dark clouds of a catastrophic economic crisis were beginning to gather in the U.S.A. and were to envelop the whole world in their grip within the next three years. The failure of the Disarmament

Conference to reach an agreement on land armaments did not augur well for the future peace of the world. The rise of National Socialism in Germany under the dynamic leadership of Hitler constituted a serious threat to the security of Europe. In the succeeding pages we shall discuss how these factors influenced the course of history from 1930 to 1939.

C. THE PERIOD OF REPUDIATION AND COLLAPSE (1930-39)

In the final phase of international relations we shall briefly survey the following issues: firstly, how the problem of reparations and inter-Allied debts was solved by circumstances. Secondly, how the solution of the question of disarmament continued to elude the statesmen of Europe. Thirdly, how Japan and Italy weakened the League of Nations. Fourthly, how a resurrected Germany under the leadership of Adolf Hitler, repudiated the clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. And finally, how the conspiracy of militant Italy and Japan helped him in precipitating the Second World War in 1939.

I. *The Economic Crisis and the end of Reparations*

Even before the Young Plan could be implemented there were signs of an impending economic crisis in America, which was soon to engulf the whole world. Up to the autumn of 1929, there was unprecedented economic prosperity in the U.S.A. on account of a phenomenal development of her agriculture and industries. Her lucrative foreign trade made her richer still. There was plenty of surplus money in the U.S.A. to be advanced to Germany and other war ravaged countries of Europe to rehabilitate their economy and to enable the former to make reparation payments and the latter to repay the war debts according to schedule.

This rosy picture of prosperity gradually began to fade by October, 1929 and before the year was out America was faced with a grim economic crisis. There were several causes of this economic breakdown. Firstly, there was "a wild orgy of speculation" in the U.S.A. and money which was so far readily available for investment in foreign loans was now diverted to purchasing shares on the New York Stock Exchange. This mad rush for shares inevitably led to an abrupt fall in their prices and ruined many speculators. The result was that financiers were no longer in a mood to invest money and sat tight on their assets. This was

bound to affect adversely both industrial development and commercial expansion.

Secondly, in the years preceding 1929, there had been unco-ordinated development of industries and consequent over-production on a grossly exaggerated scale. As long as there was a demand for American goods in foreign markets the American industrialists did not realize the dangers of over-production. But on account of the factors to which we shall presently refer, the purchasing capacity of the world was considerably reduced and, therefore, there was a vast slump in American foreign trade. Thirdly, as long as American loans were freely available to Germany and other European countries, the system of schedule evolved by the Dawes Plan and the inter-Allied agreement for the payment of war debts worked smoothly. But now that the American money had been diverted into speculation at home and was not available for foreign loans European governments were forced to make the war debt payments in gold. This inordinate flow of gold across the Atlantic to the U.S.A. caused a great shortage in Europe, while it brought no appreciable gain to American economy. With the scarcity of gold, prices began to fall in Europe and the purchasing power of European countries began to shrink and their capacity to pay the war debts was also reduced considerably.

The economic crisis which originated in the U.S.A. affected Europe in a much greater degree. All loans from the U.S.A. were stopped. War debts had to be paid in gold. Scarcity of gold affected trade, and there was a general but rapid fall in prices, causing a slump in international trade. In order to stop this heavy drain on the gold reserve European countries prohibited the export of gold, and imposed heavy protective tariff and import restrictions and introduced the system of quotas. All foreign trade tended to be controlled by the State. Yet these measures failed to stem the tide of an economic crisis. Unemployment increased beyond measure and "half Europe was bankrupt and the other half threatened with bankruptcy".

The crisis in Germany completely disrupted her economic stability. She was the largest debtor State and groaned under a heavy load of reparations. It was only with the help of American loans that she had been able to meet her obligations under the Dawes Plan. Now that no such aid was forthcoming, it was well-nigh impossible for her to pay the annuity of £100,000,000. Her

budget showed a heavy deficit. Her industry and trade were on the verge of a collapse. The exports fell considerably. Unemployment mounted. Chaotic economic conditions further discredited the German government whose foreign policy was already extremely unpopular in the country. All disgruntled elements in society swelled the ranks of the National Socialist Party which had vigorously opposed the Young Plan and the obnoxious clauses of the Treaty of Versailles.

Austria and other Central European States were equally hard hit by the economic depression. In order to halt this speedy economic breakdown, a Committee of the League of Nations proposed the reduction of inter-State trade barriers, but failed to reach general agreement over the proposal. In March, 1931, Curtius, the German Foreign Minister, and the Austrian Chancellor proposed a Treaty of Customs Union between the two countries. The proposal at once evoked strong French opposition. A customs union might lead later to a political union which would make Germany too strong for France. Such a union had been expressly banned by the Treaty of Versailles and so France would not permit it. The proposed customs treaty was referred to the Court of International Justice at the Hague. Before it could give its verdict—later it ruled against a customs union—the French government persuaded the Austrian government to rescind their decision and so the project fell through. The French opposition to the project roused bitter anti-French feelings in Germany. The German government was thoroughly discredited in the eyes of the people. Its rejection strengthened the hands of the National Socialist Party. Economically, both Austria and Germany were ruined by its abandonment.

Conditions became still more grave in 1931 and the leading Austrian bank, the Kredit Anstalt, declared its insolvency and in spite of a decree of the Austrian government guaranteeing foreign obligations and of a substantial loan of £6,000,000 from the Bank of England, Austrian economy could not be stabilized. France refused to help Austria for fear of a customs union with Germany.

The run on German banks too was very heavy and the Reichsbank was also in danger of becoming insolvent.

The Hoover Moratorium (June-July, 1931). President Hoover of the U.S.A. made a last minute effort to save Germany, where millions of American dollars were invested, from the brink

of an economic crash. He proposed on 20 June, a moratorium of one year on all inter-governmental debts. Thus the U.S.A., which had in the past separated the question of reparations from the issue of war debts, indirectly admitted that the two problems were closely interlinked. His proposal was hailed and accepted by all countries except France which was the greatest benefactor of the reparation payments. She insisted that the "unconditional annuities" under the Young Plan should continue to be paid. It was only on 6 July that she also accepted the moratorium. A fortnight's delay by France further worsened the situation and several private banks in Germany declared their bankruptcy and closed their doors to all transactions.

An international conference at London to examine the financial crisis in Germany failed to reach an agreement on account of stiff French opposition. However, it recommended to the international banks to take palliative measures to ward off the economic crisis in Germany. A conference of international bankers at Basle adopted a report, popularly known as the Layton Wiggin Report (19 August, 1931), which recommended a standstill agreement providing for six months' extension of all foreign credits to Germany expressed in terms of foreign currencies "which were thereby frozen". In spite of these attempts Germany never again became fully solvent to honour her international obligations.

The Crisis in Great Britain. The economic crisis equally affected Great Britain also. There was a vast fall in her export receipts and she was threatened by a deficit of £125,000,000 in her budget. The run on her banks was heavy and gold worth several million pounds was transferred to foreign countries, mainly to France. To stabilize her economic condition, the Bank of France, and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York each placed £25,000,000 at the disposal of the Bank of England. But all this aid proved abortive. The rush on the banks continued and the Labour government was faced with an unprecedented financial crash. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister, resigned on 24 August, 1931 and formed a National Government composed of members of all the three parties, Labour, Conservative and Liberal. A supplementary bill to balance the budget was introduced in Parliament and severe economies were proposed. But the plans of the government were foiled by a minor naval mutiny at Invergordon against the proposed reduction of the salaries of naval

ratings. For fear of further flow of gold outside the country the government prohibited the export of gold and on 21 September Great Britain was forced off the gold standard. The value of the pound declined by 30 per cent of its previous value in gold. The fall of the sterling had a double effect on international trade. On the one hand it resulted in the fall of the world price level and on the other it gave a fillip to the British export trade and laid "the foundations of a slow but steady recovery".

After the general elections in October, 1931 the National Government was returned to power with a considerable majority in Parliament. In order to give further impetus to foreign trade the government revised its traditional free-trade policy and introduced an all-round tariff in view of the high tariff imposed by other countries. Thus for the first time Great Britain initiated a policy of economic nationalism. These measures resulted in a good deal of economic recovery.

The Ottawa Conference (July-August, 1932). The Dominions were also affected by the economic crisis and the devaluation of the pound. Therefore, in order to stabilize inter-Dominion trade, a conference was held at Ottawa which was attended by Great Britain, all the Dominions, India and Southern Rhodesia. The principle of Imperial Preference, that is, each member should give preference to the goods of Great Britain and of each other, was accepted by all.

The Ottawa decision tided over the slump in foreign trade to a large extent and was responsible for restoring confidence and financial stability in Great Britain and the Dominions.

The Lausanne Conference and the end of Reparations (June-July, 1932). The economic crisis in Germany had so impoverished the country that in November, 1931 the German government warned the creditor nations that she would not be able to pay any further reparation annuities. A special committee of the Bank of International Settlements also reported in December that Germany would not be able to pay the "conditional annuity" due in 1932. The committee also advised an adjustment of all inter-governmental debts. Political conditions inside Germany were becoming untenable for Brüning's government on account of the agitation and opposition of the National Socialist Party against payment of reparations. Therefore Brüning announced in January, 1932 that Germany could not make any more reparation

payments. This declaration created a sense of urgency about reaching a satisfactory settlement on the issue of reparations. Consequently, a conference of the representatives of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan and Germany was summoned at Lausanne in June, 1932. They realized the German predicament and, before the Hoover moratorium ended, reached the following agreement: firstly, the German reparations debt was cancelled in return for a single payment of £ 150,000,000 by Germany in the form of 5 per cent bonds to be deposited with the Bank of International Settlement; secondly, the Bank was authorized to issue them, when economic conditions improved, at a price of not less than 90 per cent of their face value.

The ratification of this agreement by the signatory Powers depended upon a satisfactory agreement on the issue of war debts between their debtors and creditors including the U.S.A. Thus the two questions of reparations and war debt were intertwined once again. The American Congress reacted sharply to this implication, and denounced the agreement. It passed a resolution that "it was against the policy of Congress that any of the indebtedness of foreign powers to the United States should in any manner be cancelled or reduced". In view of this resolution and the firm American stand on keeping the issue of reparations and war debts separate, the Lausanne agreement was never ratified. But Germany remained equally firm in her determination not to make any more reparation payments and that was the end of one of the most controversial and complicated post-war problems. It was solved not by negotiation or agreement but by the force of circumstances.

The problem of war debts remained alive for some time more. The end of the Hoover moratorium in July, 1932 would reopen the issue, but the next instalment of war debt was not due till December, 1932. In the meanwhile, America was engaged in the Presidential election campaign. Both the Republicans and the Democrats were agreed upon the non-cancellation of war debts. However, public opinion in the U.S.A. was not very favourable to the Republican administration of President Hoover and in the November (1932) election, voted Roosevelt to power. During the election campaign the European Powers had kept a gentleman's agreement not to open the question of war debts.

Since no agreement could be reached with the U.S.A., Great

Britain paid the full instalment in gold in December, 1932 with the proviso that it should be treated as a capital payment in any final settlement. The French government also proposed to do the same, but the Chamber of Deputies voted down the proposal and so France defaulted. Great Britain did not make any demands on her debtors lest the question of reparations settled at Lausanne might be reopened. In June and December, 1933 Great Britain made only token payments of £ 2,000,000 each. France paid nothing. No further payments were made by Great Britain either, and the curtain was finally rung on the "confused drama of reparation and inter-allied war debts which had tormented the world for more than ten years".

The World Economic Conference (June-July, 1933)

As decided at Lausanne, a World Economic Conference attended by 64 nations met in London on 12 June, 1933 to discuss the most pressing questions of currency stabilization, reduction in tariffs and abolition of the quota system. The vagaries of exchange and the devaluation of currencies had created almost chaotic conditions in international trade. The U.S.A. was also invited to attend the conference. She accepted the invitation on the express condition that the problem of war debts would not be considered at the Conference. Before the Conference met, President Roosevelt had supported its objects and had expressly said in May, 1933 that "it must establish order in place of the present chaos by a stabilization of currencies". The deliberations of the Conference however were deeply influenced by events in the U.S.A. The economic crisis had first begun there in the autumn of 1929, but it reached its climax only at the beginning of 1933. In March when President Roosevelt was installed, the banking system faced an utter breakdown. The rush on banks was so heavy that the new President had to proclaim four days bank holidays, to tide over the crisis. Yet the panic was so great, that the President was given emergency powers to deal with the situation. On 19 April, the U.S.A. abandoned the gold standard and the value of the dollar quickly fell by about 30 per cent. This depreciation in the value of the dollar caused the American government to change their views on the stabilization of currencies, because they now regarded this fall as essential for the economic recovery of the country. Hence the American delegation at the conference suggested that

any measures to stabilize currency would be "untimely". Discordant notes were also sounded by the French delegation. They insisted that currency stabilization must precede any agreement to reduce tariffs, or to abandon the quota system. A compromise formula between the French and the American views was evolved on 30 June. It stated that further negotiations should proceed on the issue of stabilization while it strongly urged reduction in tariffs. The American delegation also supported it. But on 3 July, 1933, President Roosevelt repudiated the formula and his announcement was a death blow to the Conference. It lingered on for a few weeks, and finally adjourned *sine die* on 27 July without achieving any tangible results.

The failure of the World Economic Conference to evolve a formula for international co-operation diverted the minds of statesmen into other channels. They now embarked on a policy of bilateral commercial agreements. Great Britain concluded commercial treaties with Argentina, Sweden, Norway and also with the U.S.S.R. and Poland. In 1934, the U.S.A. also followed the British lead.

II. The Disarmament Conference (1932-34)

We have already referred above to the "draft treaty" prepared by the Preparatory Commission of the League recommending limitation of armaments in principle. A widely representative Disarmament Conference was held in Geneva in February, 1932 to discuss its recommendations and to evolve measures to effect an all-round disarmament. Unfortunately the Conference was convened at a very inopportune moment, when the international scene was vitiated by the Japanese aggression in Manchuria and the climate was not at all favourable for considering the question of disarmament. Yet in spite of this initial drawback the conference grappled with the problem for over two years.

Earlier in this chapter we have discussed the factors which made the problem so complicated. France would not consider any proposal for disarmament unless her security was guaranteed first. Security, according to her, must precede disarmament. Germany, on the other hand, claimed equality in armaments, whether the level fixed by the Conference was high or low. This demand meant a revision of the Treaty of Versailles. The French view was that once this claim was conceded, there would be no

end to her demands and the entire fabric of security built by the Treaty of Versailles would be torn to shreds, and she would again be exposed to German aggression. Hence she consistently and persistently opposed the German claim. In a nutshell the problem before the Conference was "how to reconcile the military needs of a nation intent upon preserving the *status quo* with the military demands of a nation zealous to change it?"

During the course of the next two years several still-born proposals were discussed "not in a spirit of co-operation but of competition".

(1) THE FIRST PHASE (FEBRUARY-OCTOBER, 1932)

The Disarmament Conference was attended by 61 States including 5 non-members among whom were the U.S.A. and Russia. At the outset France raised the question of security and proposed the setting up of an international police force under the auspices of the League to maintain peace in the world. This scheme was opposed by Great Britain and the U.S.A. which were not in favour of creating a "super-national" force and were averse to getting involved in further international conflicts. Sir John Simon, the British Foreign Secretary, put forward another proposal on the basis of "qualitative limitation", that is, limitation not by numbers, but by abolishing certain categories of armaments. Weapons were classified as "offensive" and "defensive". Offensive weapons, like submarines, bomber aircrafts, tanks and heavy guns were to be prohibited. The proposal roused bitter and endless controversy as to which weapons were offensive and which defensive. According to Great Britain and the U.S.A. submarines were offensive, while France held that they were defensive. Germany asserted that all weapons prohibited by the Treaty of Versailles were offensive. On account of the divergent views expressed by the Great Powers no agreement could be reached on the British proposal.

President Hoover of America tried to break the deadlock and on 22 June in a message to the Conference he made a new proposal. Its general purpose was to maintain the existing, relative strength of the different national armies, but the armed forces were to be divided into two categories, "the police component" and the "defence component". An all-round reduction of one-third with "necessary corrections for Powers having colonial possessions" was recommended in the existing

defence components by all States. Great Britain did not react favourably to the American proposal as she was not prepared to reduce the strength of her cruisers in the interest of the security of her empire.

The French, British and American proposals were all rejected by the Conference. In order to avoid admitting a complete failure, before adjourning for a recess, the Conference passed by a majority vote, a resolution on 20 July prohibiting aerial bombardment and chemical warfare and limiting heavy artillery and aircrafts. 41 States voted in its favour, 8 including Italy abstained, and Russia and Germany opposed it. The Italian press bitterly denounced the League as a "limited liability company under the control of England, France and indirectly America". Mussolini went one step forward and instead of supporting disarmament eulogized wars.

Germany felt frustrated, but rather than be cowed down, she took a militant attitude and demanded that either all Powers should disarm or she should be allowed to rearm. She would not tolerate disparity in armaments any further. In May, 1932 Bruning's weak and unpopular government was replaced by Von Papen's, and in September he announced that Germany would take further part in the deliberations of the Conference only if it accepted "a clear and definite recognition of equality of rights between nations". If the German view was accepted, the Conference would have to deal not with disarmament but with rearmament. Therefore Great Britain, in strong terms, denounced the German claim to equality and any attempt to revise the Treaty of Versailles.

Thus the international atmosphere was surcharged with suspicion and hostility when the Conference reassembled in October. Germany refused to send her representatives. It was soon realized that without her presence the Conference would not make any headway, so its deliberations were suspended temporarily in order to find a formula to bring Germany back to the Conference table and save it from utter failure. As a result of feverish diplomatic activity a Five Power Conference consisting of the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, the U.S.A. and Germany was held in December at Geneva to resolve the deadlock. A compromise between the French and German views was struck and the Powers passed a resolution recognizing the claim of Germany to

"equality of rights in a system which would provide security for all nations". Both Germany and France regarded it as satisfactory; the former because the principle of equality was accepted, the latter because it was subject to security for all. Germany agreed to attend the next session of the Conference.

(2) THE SECOND PHASE (FEBRUARY TO NOVEMBER, 1933)

MacDonald Plan (March, 1933). When the Conference met for its second session, the international scene had considerably changed for the worse. Hitler, whose avowed policy was to tear the Treaty of Versailles to pieces and to rearm Germany, was now Chancellor since 30 January, 1933. Japan's notice of withdrawal from the League of Nations in February further weakened the chances of strengthening the international machinery for preserving peace, though her representatives continued to take part in the discussions of the Conference. Realizing the gravity of the international situation Ramsay MacDonald, the British Prime Minister, personally attended the Conference. He submitted an entirely new draft convention limiting men and material, based on the points hitherto agreed by all. The Convention was divided into five parts. Part I related to security of all States and provided for the summoning of a conference if peace was endangered in any part of the world. Part II prescribed limitation of men and material for each State. A standard army of 200,000 men was proposed for all Great Powers and Poland. Germany would be allowed "progressive approach to parity". Part III dealt with control of air forces and aerial bombardment and the extension of the terms of the Naval Treaty of London (1930) to France and Italy (for details see p. 472). Part IV banned all chemical and bacteriological warfare. Part V provided for a permanent Disarmament Conference with wide powers of control and inspection.

The Plan had a mixed reception. While the Western powers supported it, Hitler strongly opposed the provision of "progressive approach to parity" for Germany. As there was again a stalemate, the Conference adjourned for a recess to enable the statesmen to hold private discussions. Arthur Henderson, the President of the Conference, visited the capitals of the leading Powers to find a solution. Germany remained adamant in her attitude.

In order to save the Conference from failure, France proposed

a new Plan. The Disarmament Convention should be divided into two parts; (1) a period of trial for 4 years; (2) limitation proper of armaments. During the first phase an effective system of international supervision and control should be evolved and the national armies should be reorganized. In the second phase, the limitation of armaments on the basis of complete equality should be effected.

There was general approval of the French plan, but Germany, which had been thoroughly sick of the machinations of France, all of a sudden announced her withdrawal from the Conference on 14 October and Hitler recalled his delegates. At the same time Germany struck another blow to international security by announcing her intention to withdraw from the League of Nations also. Hitler's policy was enthusiastically supported by the Germans in the November elections when 93 per cent of the voters approved the action of the government in withdrawing from the League.

Once again the Conference was confronted with an impasse and was adjourned on 21 November to enable diplomats to make "parallel and supplementary efforts" to resolve the deadlock.

Great Britain sent Anthony Eden to Paris, Berlin and Rome in February, 1934 to find out the possibilities of resuscitating the Disarmament Conference. During the Eden-Hitler parleys, Hitler made a new proposal and demanded parity for the German army with the French, Italian and Polish armies. He was prepared to accept the same limit for Germany as would be fixed for the other armies. With regard to the air force, he stated he would be satisfied with 30 per cent of the combined strength of the neighbours of Germany or with 50 per cent of the French air force, whichever quota was the lower.

The French protested against these high demands and refused to concede the German right to rearm. In the meanwhile Germany went ahead with her plan for rearmament and provided a large amount of money for the purpose in the budget of 1934. The French and German points of view could not be reconciled and so all hopes of success faded.

This was virtually the end of the Disarmament Conference. All efforts at disarmament were given up and by 1935 once again European countries had entered the race for rearmament. The failure of the Disarmament Conference was yet another nail in

the coffin of the system of collective security. Japan had already hit the first nail in 1931 by her invasion of Manchuria. Under these stresses the very foundations of the League of Nations were shaken.

The Four Power Pact (June, 1933). During an interlude in the discussions on the Mac Donald Plan at the Disarmament Conference, Mac Donald and Sir John Simon visited Rome in March, 1933 to hold talks with Mussolini on questions of mutual interest. Il Duce had his own plan of security and disarmament and proposed a Four Power Pact between Italy, Great Britain, France and Germany. His plan was ostensibly based on the following thesis. The League of Nations and the Disarmament Conference were unwieldy bodies and it was difficult to achieve any agreement in big conferences where over fifty nations were represented. He also advocated that the world must take note of the resurgence of Germany under the Nazis and consequently a revision of the Peace Treaties was essential to safeguard international peace. He genuinely desired to establish peace between Germany and France at this time. He supported Germany's claim to equality in armaments and her demand for revision of the eastern and southern frontiers, at the cost of Poland and Czechoslovakia but he strongly opposed any proposal of union between Germany and Austria, because that would bring the Nazi influence too close to Italy. Moreover, the problem of security and disarmament basically affected only the Great Powers. He drew a distinction between Great and Small Powers. He did not believe in the equality of all nations, and according to him only Italy, Great Britain, France and Germany fell in the former category. If they could come to an agreement among themselves on the questions of security and disarmament, the peace of the world would be ensured.

Mussolini had, besides these arguments, other secret motives in sponsoring the new Pact. During the last decade Italian foreign policy had been mainly directed to achieving three goals: firstly, Italian expansion beyond the borders fixed by the Peace Treaties (for details see Chapter 29); secondly, equality with France in armaments; and, thirdly, undermining the influence of France and her allies, Poland and the States of the Little Entente, in the international sphere. Therefore he supported Hungary against the Little Entente and Bulgaria against Yugoslavia. He also

sympathized with German resurgence partly, because he sincerely believed in revising the terms of the Peace Treaties and partly out of spite for France. Consequently, Italy stood as a champion of "revisionism".

The Four Power Pact proposed by him embodied the following terms. Firstly, the Great Powers should co-ordinate "their European policy in such a manner as to secure its adoption 'in case of necessity by other powers as well'." Secondly, the Peace Treaties should be suitably revised in the light of developments in the last decade. Thirdly, the Great Powers should recognize Germany's claim of equality and should permit her to rearm "by stages". Lastly, they should also follow a co-ordinated policy "in all extra-European" and also "in the colonial sphere".

Reaction to the Pact. The British reaction to the pact was not unfavourable. Mac Donald promised to study its terms. France reacted violently, but did not want to categorically reject it lest her relations with Italy might be strained and Germany and Italy might be drawn closer together. France, therefore, suggested modifications in its terms and proposed negotiations. The States of the Little Entente and Poland denounced it for attempting to revise the Peace Treaties.

After protracted negotiations the Four Powers agreed on a revised draft in June, 1933. All reference to the colonial question was dropped, and the other terms were also considerably modified to accommodate the French view. It only affirmed the desire of the Great Powers to co-operate with other Powers "within the framework of the League".

The Pact did not provide a solution to security and disarmament, but it certainly achieved the Italian objective of weakening the bond of friendship between France and her satellites.

In the succeeding pages we shall briefly survey the events which led to the repudiation of the Peace Treaties and the collapse of the League of Nations.

III. *The End of International Security*

Repudiation of the Covenant of the League and of the Peace Treaties (1930-39). The League of Nations had succeeded to a fairly large extent in maintaining peace in the world from 1920 to 1930. The system of international security based on its Covenant had been further strengthened by the Nine Power

Treaty at the Washington Conference (1922) and the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928). But the serene and tranquil atmosphere of peace did not last long. While the world was in the throes of the grave economic crisis of 1929-33, and the Disarmament Conference was grappling with the problem of security, the calm waters of the Far East were disturbed by the militant ambitions of Japan.

JAPANESE INVASION AND ANNEXATION OF MANCHURIA (1931-32)

Japan's expansionist designs had been thwarted at the Washington Conference (1922) and she had been forced by the Western Powers to return Kiaochow to China. She was also made to guarantee the territorial integrity and independence of China. However, she could never forget the humiliation suffered by her in 1922 and waited for a suitable opportunity to assert her national honour as a great oriental Power and to once again attempt to realize her dream of expansion. The opportunity came in 1931 when she launched an offensive and conquered Manchuria. There were several causes for this invasion.

(1) **Growing Population.** Japan's population had almost doubled during the last sixty years and from 34·8 millions in 1872, it had risen to over 60 millions in 1930. The Immigration laws enacted by the U.S.A. and British dominions in 1924, shut the door to Japanese emigrants and she bitterly resented this insult. She was already densely populated and therefore she must find room for expansion for her growing population.

(2) **Economic Needs.** Japan's economy was not self-sufficient. For a large number of things she depended upon imports from overseas. Her industries which had lately developed by leaps and bounds had to have a secure and regular source of supply of raw material to keep the wheels of industry moving and to provide employment to millions of workers. At the same time she needed foreign markets for her industrial products. All her economic ills would be solved by the acquisition of colonies. Where she would find these colonies was a big problem. Already her dreams of expansion had been shattered at the Washington Conference, and in the construction of a gigantic British naval base at Singapore in 1925 she saw further attempts to contain her expansion in South-East Asia. She could only look to the mainland of China for

satisfying her territorial and economic needs. So she cast her covetous eyes on Manchuria and waited for a suitable opportunity to launch an offensive.

(3) **Rise of Shintoism in Japan.** After the First World War there was a struggle for power between the politicians and the military junta. By 1930 the latter had triumphed over the former. The "war lords" were intent on effacing the grim memories of humiliation at the Washington Conference, and of the insult showered on the Japanese nation by the American and Dominion immigration laws. Japan must reassert her right to be called a Great Power and therefore she must achieve some spectacular results in the form of expansion beyond her borders.

(4) **The Civil War in China (1920-27).** China was torn by a Civil War among the provincial governors. A new and dynamic Nationalist party, the Kuomintang, first under the leadership of Sun Yat Sen and, after his death in 1925, under Chiang Kai Shek, made a herculean effort to achieve the political and administrative unity of China. During the Civil War, Manchuria proclaimed her independence under Chang Tso Lin who was favourably disposed to Japan.

Japan saw a golden opportunity of fishing in the troubled waters of Chinese politics and decided to intervene in her internal affairs in order to extend her influence in Manchuria. She already had a foothold in the province. After the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) she had acquired the Russian leasehold rights in Liaotung and the South Manchurian Railway. She was further permitted to maintain an armed strength of about 15,000 men in the railway territory with headquarters at Mukden to safeguard her rights. In 1910 she had also annexed Korea.

It was in the interests of Japan to keep Manchuria away from the clutches of the advancing Kuomintang armies and so in May, 1927, the Japanese troops occupied Shantung to bar the Nationalist advance northwards. Japan was determined to stop Manchuria from falling into the hands of the Chinese Nationalists. At the same time there was a serious danger that the Chinese might win over Chang Tso Lin and thus deprive the Japanese from achieving their objective. Chang, therefore, must be liquidated. He was killed as a result of a bomb explosion in which it was alleged the Japanese had a hand. After his assassination Japanese influence in Manchuria continued.

(5) **Provocative Attitude of China.** The Japanese occupation of Shantung and her intervention in the Civil War roused bitter nationalist feelings in China and the Chinese retaliated by boycotting Japanese goods. This boycott constituted a serious threat to the Japanese overseas trade and if not checked would have crippled the entire Japanese economy. Sino-Japanese relations were further strained on account of anti-Japanese riots in several cities.

(6) **The Mukden Incident, September, (1931).** More events embittered Sino-Japanese relations still further. In June, 1931 Major Nakamura, a Japanese army official was murdered by Chinese bandits, and on the night of 18-19 September there was an attempt by Chinese soldiers to blow up the railway track near Mukden. This so-called "Mukden incident" precipitated a crisis. Japanese soldiers attacked the Chinese army and quickly overpowered it. Within four days they occupied the strategic cities of Mukden, Changchun and Kirin in South Manchuria. By November, North Manchuria was also conquered. With the occupation of Shanhaikwan in January, 1932 the conquest of South Manchuria was complete.

INTERVENTION BY THE LEAGUE (1931-33)

The Chinese government could not halt the Japanese aggression and lodged a protest with the League under Article 11 of the Covenant. The Japanese delegate at the Council declared that Japan had no intention whatever of annexing Manchuria and that she had taken only "police action" to safeguard Japanese nationals and Japanese property there. The Council thereupon adopted unanimously a resolution on 30 September, 1931 stating that the Japanese forces should be gradually withdrawn into the railway zone and normal relations should be restored between the two countries.

Japan, however, had no intentions of withdrawing. Her occupation of Manchuria and her refusal to withdraw were flagrant violations of the Covenant of the League as well as of the Nine Power Treaty and the Kellogg-Briand Pact whereby all nations had abjured recourse to war as a measure of national policy. Though America was not a member of the League, she was deeply interested in the Sino-Japanese dispute. As a co-signatory to the Nine Power Treaty she wanted Japan to vacate

the aggression and to respect the territorial integrity and independence of China. The U.S.A. expressed a desire to be invited to the Council and to take part in the debate over Manchuria. Accordingly an invitation was sent to her. Japan objected to her presence at the Council on constitutional grounds. Her objection was over-ruled and the representative of the U.S.A. took part in the discussions. The Council demanded withdrawal of Japanese troops into the railway territory, but Japan insisted on having direct talks with China before doing so. On 7 January, 1932, Stimson, the U.S. Secretary of State, informed all signatories of the Nine Power Treaty that the U.S.A. would not recognize the Japanese annexation of Manchuria by force, as it violated the Kellogg-Briand Pact of 1928. The League appointed a Commission of the representatives of Great Britain, the U.S.A., France, Germany and Italy the so-called Lytton Commission in February, 1932 to study the situation on the spot and to report to the Council.

Meanwhile, Chinese boycott of Japanese goods was intensified and anti-Japanese feelings ran high. In Shanghai, as a result of mob violence, a Japanese monk was murdered in January, 1932. The Japanese retaliated by sending a Japanese force which occupied Shanghai. Through British intervention, however, Japanese troops were withdrawn from Shanghai in May.

Japan meanwhile strengthened her hold on Manchuria and to escape censure by the League, on 19 February established a puppet Republic of Manchukuo under the ex-Emperor Pu Yi. The new State, in all but name, was a Japanese colony.

Consequent upon the landing of the Japanese troops in Shanghai in January, 1932 China lodged a fresh complaint of aggression with the League. The Council, which was already perturbed by the disquieting proceedings of the Disarmament Conference and the Lausanne Conference (see p. 482) deferred taking any immediate action and waited for the Lytton Commission Report. The Report was submitted in October, 1932. It did not condone Japanese aggression in Manchuria and at the same time censored China for taking a provocative attitude towards Japan. It also realized that the establishment of the *status quo* or the maintenance of the puppet State of Manchukuo, was impossible; therefore, it recommended the creation of an autonomous State of Manchuria under Chinese sovereignty, but under Japanese control. The

Lytton Report was adopted by the Council by 42 votes to 2 in February, 1933 after slight modifications. The Council did not pronounce Japan an aggressor, and recommended direct negotiations between Japan and China under the auspices of the League for the withdrawal of Japanese troops. Manchuria was to be created an autonomous State under Chinese sovereignty.

Japan voted against the resolution and notified her intention to withdraw from the League.

Importance of Japan's Aggression and Withdrawal from the League. The annexation of Manchuria by Japan reopened Russo-Japanese hostility and frequent border incidents severely embittered relations between the two countries. Japanese withdrawal from the League was a major blow to its prestige and made a serious dent in the armour of the world organization. The failure of the League to stop Japanese aggression ushered in an era of "power politics". The system of co-operative security was severely strained and under further pressure was likely to collapse. Japan's example encouraged other nations in future to embark upon aggressive measures to fulfil their extraterritorial ambitions.

We shall presently see how Mussolini and Hitler repudiated the Peace Treaties and caused a complete breakdown of the structure of the League.

THE RESURGENCE OF GERMANY AND ITS REACTION

Germany had been reduced to a third-rate Power after the Peace Conference. She had been deprived of large slices of territories on the east and the west, the military clauses had fixed her armed strength and had prohibited her rearmament. Heavy reparations had been imposed on her so that her economic recovery might be as slow as possible and she might not rise as a Great Power in the foreseeable future and wage a war of revenge on France. The fabric of security woven by peace treaties and the League of Nations was further strengthened by the French alliance with Belgium, Poland and the Little Entente. As if this encirclement of Germany was not enough, France insisted on getting further guarantees of her security and succeeded in obtaining them by the Locarno Pact (1925) and the Kellogg-Briand Pact (1928).

This system of security was designed to keep Germany weak and unarmed perpetually. But it did not last long. A proud,

intelligent and martial nation like the German could not bear these humiliations imposed by the victors for long. German resurgence was inevitable.

In Chapter 29 we have already discussed the causes which helped the National Socialists to grasp political power in Germany. Hitler was appointed Chancellor on 30 January, 1933. On assuming office, he issued a statement affirming his desire not to alter the Peace settlement by force to allay the fears of the Allies, particularly of the French. This protestation of his peaceful intentions was a mere bluff. He had already enunciated the programme and policy of National Socialism in his famous autobiography, *Mein Kampf*, in 1924. After stifling ruthlessly all opposition inside the country and having consolidated power in his hands, he embarked upon schemes to realize the cherished objective of making Germany great at home and abroad. We have already dealt with his internal policy in the last chapter. Here we shall confine ourselves to his foreign policy only and its reaction in Europe.

In his *Mein Kampf* he had expressly stated that a resurrected Germany would demand cancellation of the Peace Treaty. In achieving this objective, Germany could expect tough opposition from France. The humiliating terms of the Treaty of Versailles were mainly due to French insistence on weakening her for good. France had further encircled her by treaty alliances. France had again consistently opposed her claim to parity at the Disarmament Conference. Therefore, Germany regarded France as her greatest enemy and Hitler was intent upon breaking the shackles imposed on Germany by the Peace Treaty.

Hitler's second objective was to unite all German people in Europe in one Greater Germany. This ambition would entail the union of Austria with Germany which was expressly prohibited by the Peace Treaties and also of the annexation of territories peopled by the Germans in Czechoslovakia and Poland. Germany had not reconciled herself to her eastern and southern frontiers but had categorically stated that she would not demand their alteration by force. At the same time, Hitler was fully alive to the fact that such an adjustment could not and would not be achieved by negotiation on account of the opposition of her neighbours. Only armed might could help him and so Germany must rearm. Consequently, he insisted on parity with France at the Disarma-

ment Conference. When the French intransigence would not let him realize his aim, he recalled the German delegates from the Conference and embarked upon a scheme of progressive rearmament. He also built up an air force in defiance of the Peace Treaty, but he took special care not to offend Great Britain by building a navy. In the *Mein Kampf* he had also strongly advocated German expansion in eastern Europe at the cost of Russia and had claimed the former German colonies. A resurrected Germany under the aggressive, thorough and ruthless leadership of Hitler, was a great threat to international peace. Germany's refusal to pay reparations, her withdrawal from the Disarmament Conference and the League of Nations coupled with her programme of rearmament, alarmed the whole of Europe.

International relations were dominated by one fact during the years 1933 to 1939, that is, the revival of Germany under Hitler. The Allies had expected for some time the resurgence of Germany as a Great Power, but her rise under the Nazis, to the "astonishment not only of the Germans but of the whole world", was phenomenal and unexpected.

The immediate reaction to the Nazi revolution was of indignation and bitter hostility at the brutal methods they had adopted to suppress all opposition. Their foreign policy constituted a serious challenge to the Peace Treaty. Consequently, there was intense diplomatic activity in Europe and a completely new picture of alliances emerged within the next two years.

An appraisal of the alignments of European Powers in 1933 would help the reader to better follow the course of the diplomatic revolution. Germany and Soviet Russia were two outcaste Powers after the war. In 1922, by the Treaty of Rapallo, they had agreed on economic co-operation and had renounced reparations. They had steadfastly stuck to the pact up to 1933. As stated earlier, France for reasons of her security had signed pacts of mutual assistance with Poland and the States of the Little Entente, in order to encircle Germany and to make sure that the Treaty of Versailles was not violated. Italy had contracted a treaty of friendship with Hungary in 1927, as a counter-blast to the French alliances with the Little Entente, particularly with Yugoslavia, with which her relations were very strained (for details see Chapter 29). Great Britain, in general held aloof from these

pacts, but by the Locarno Pact had guaranteed the Franco-German and the German-Belgian frontiers.

Such was the international scene at the time of Hitler's rise to power.

(1) **Reaction in Poland.** Germany's relations with Poland had been very hostile from the outset on account of the fact that she had not agreed to her eastern frontiers as final and binding even at Locarno. The ill-treatment of German minorities in the "corridor" and Danzig further embittered feelings on both sides and there were frequent complaints to the League on their behalf. Poland's troubles were not confined to her western frontiers. She was equally apprehensive of her eastern neighbour Soviet Russia. Hemmed in between two unfriendly States she had tried to secure her independence, by making a pact with France (1921). After Hitler's rise to power there was a dramatic change in the Polish-German relations. On the one hand Germany was anxious to come to terms with Poland on account of the Western opposition to her claim for parity at the Disarmament Conference and because she wanted to secure her eastern frontiers in order to have a free hand to deal with Austria. On the other, Poland was also critical of the French policy in signing the Four Power Pact (1933). She thought that the French alliance was not very dependable. She was also uneasy about her frontier with Germany. Therefore she was eager to come to some sort of an understanding with Germany. Consequently, when the German attitude became friendly and conciliatory she responded favourably and signed a Polish-German non-aggression pact (1934) for ten years by which both countries renounced the use of force to settle mutual disputes. This pact reassured Poland against a Nazi attempt to conquer the "corridor" by force and also marked the Polish desire to find a balance between French alliance and German friendship. As a result of the pact, anti-Polish, and anti-German propaganda came to an end and for the time being friendly relations replaced the atmosphere of animosity and mutual recrimination.

In May, 1934 Poland also extended the non-aggression pact of 1932 with Soviet Russia for ten years. Yet she still maintained the alliance with France.

(2) **Reaction in the U.S.S.R.** Notwithstanding the Treaty of Rapallo (1922), the relations between Soviet Russia and Germany began to deteriorate with the rise of the National Socialists in

Germany on account of the avowed Nazi designs of expansion in "Russia and the border States". Russia was also threatened by the Japanese expansion in Manchuria. She was therefore eager to cement her relations with the U.S.A. as well as with France, which was equally apprehensive of the German revival. Alarmed by Japanese aggression Russia concluded in 1931-32 a series of non-aggression pacts with Poland, Estonia, Latvia and Finland. In November, 1932, she concluded a similar pact with France also. Further rapprochement between the two countries followed on the revival of Germany. "Both to France and to the U.S.S.R. the use of the arms of each in a common defence quickly became the undisguised aim of a closer rapprochement." In November 1933, Litvinov, the Russian Foreign Minister, visited the U.S.A. and allayed the American fears about the Communist propaganda there. Consequently, the U.S.A. recognized Russia and diplomatic relations between the two countries were re-established. In September, 1934, she was admitted to the League of Nations, largely as a result of the French and British support and was offered a permanent seat on the Council. On 2 May, 1935 a Franco-Soviet treaty of mutual assistance was signed. It provided for mutual aid in case either country was attacked by a European Power. This was ostensibly directed against Germany. Thus the old Franco-Russian alliance of the pre-war days was renewed. A similar treaty was signed between Russia and Czechoslovakia on 16 May, 1935. The Treaty with France was ratified on 27 February, 1936, and with Czechoslovakia on 12 March. These ratifications had far-reaching effects on Hitler's policy of repudiation of the Peace treaty (see p. 510).

(3) **Reaction in France.** German resurgence roused grave misgivings in France. The network of alliances that she had concluded in the past was not regarded strong enough to guarantee her security. Already the non-aggression pact between Poland and Germany had made holes in it, though Poland still retained the French alliance. Therefore, the entire French energy was directed towards strengthening and extending her regional alliances. Consequently in turn she sponsored an Eastern pact, effected a rapprochement with Italy, and concluded a pact of mutual assistance with Russia. During the summer of 1934, Barthou, the French Foreign Minister, visited Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. As a result of his talks with

the leaders of these countries he proposed an "Eastern Pact" of mutual guarantee on the lines of Locarno between Russia, the Baltic States, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Germany. Russia was also to be admitted to the League of Nations and she agreed to become a co-guarantor of the Locarno treaties in return for a French guarantee of her frontiers. Great Britain and Italy welcomed Barthou's proposal, but it was strongly opposed by Germany and Poland. Hitler did not believe in multi-lateral pacts, though he was prepared to conclude bi-lateral treaties. Poland, having concluded non-aggression pacts with Germany and Russia saw no advantage in the proposed pact, as it might "involve the passage either of German or Russian troops" through her territory. So the proposed pact never materialized. Simultaneously, France expressed her anxiety to come to terms with Italy which was equally menaced by the threat of German aggression in Austria (see p. 510). Franco-Italian relations hitherto had been very strained on account of the Italian claim to parity with France in armaments. Moreover, France's alliance with the States of the Little Entente, particularly with Yugoslavia, was very repugnant to Italy as she had a serious quarrel with Yugoslavia over Fiume (see Chapter 29). Therefore, to counteract the influence of the alliances of the Little Entente and their supporter France, Italy concluded a treaty of friendship with Hungary in 1927. Italy made a similar treaty with Austria in 1930 and for some time came out as a champion of "revisionism". In the face of common Nazi danger, both France and Italy re-orientated their policy and worked arduously for a rapprochement.

Attempts for an understanding between the two countries were hailed by Czechoslovakia, a member of the Little Entente, as she was equally afraid of German expansion, but they were highly distasteful to Yugoslavia, another member of the Little Entente, on account of her hostility to Italy. King Alexander of Yugoslavia decided to visit France to stop the Franco-Italian agreement. When he landed in Marseilles, he was assassinated together with Barthou (9 October, 1934), who had come to receive him, by a Croatian revolutionary. This brutal murder was denounced by Yugoslavia as a sinister plot engineered by Italy and Hungary. She lodged a strong protest with the League and demanded a thorough enquiry. The Great Powers did not want to do anything which might once again create a rift between Italy and France.

So after animated discussions the League finally exonerated Italy, but censored Hungary and asked her to punish those who were responsible for the dastardly crime. The Franco-Italian negotiations, which had been suspended after the murder of King Alexander, were resumed. Laval, the French Foreign Minister, visited Rome and held talks with Mussolini and a Franco-Italian Pact, embodying the following terms, was signed in January, 1935.

Firstly, the two Powers agreed to take concerted action in the event of rearmament by Germany. Secondly, they promised to jointly consult with Austria if her independence was threatened by Germany. Thirdly, to satisfy Italian ambitions for expansion in Africa, France made large concessions and ceded to Italy a strip of French Equatorial Africa adjoining Italian Libya; and a portion of French Somaliland adjacent to Italian Eritrea. France transferred to Italy 2500 shares of the French-owned Djibouti-Addis Ababa Railway. France also allowed Italy more or less a free hand in Abyssinia.

The Franco-Italian agreement ended an old feud between the two countries and while it was welcomed by Czechoslovakia, it estranged Yugoslavia from France.

As already stated earlier, France concluded a pact of mutual assistance with Russia in May, 1935, and with the signing of this pact the regrouping of Powers was completed.

Reaction in the Little Entente. The alliance among the States of the Little Entente had been concluded primarily as a barrier to Austro-Hungarian "revisionism". The rise of the Nazis to power made dents in their solidarity. Czechoslovakia was intensely alarmed by the threat of Nazi aggression as she had a considerable German minority. She welcomed the rapprochement between France and Italy; whereas Yugoslavia, another member of the Entente, on account of its hostility to Italy opposed it. She rather sympathized with the German revival and would have preferred German influence in Austria to that of Italy. In spite of these conflicting interests, outwardly the Little Entente still maintained its solidarity.

The realignment of European Powers on account of the diplomatic activity during the years 1933 to 1935, considerably changed the European scene. Poland which had hitherto been a camp follower of France, was estranged from her and stood closer to Germany, her erstwhile enemy. Russia which in the

twenties had sympathized with "revisionism" now supported France in maintaining the Peace Treaties and *status quo* in Central Europe. The old enmity between France and Italy yielded to an understanding and a friendly pact. Among the members of the Little Entente, Czechoslovakia supported the Franco-Italian understanding, whereas Yugoslavia opposed the extension of Italian influence in Austria (see below).

The new regrouping of Powers had two immediate effects: firstly, repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles by Germany; and, secondly, the invasion and conquest of Abyssinia by Italy. We shall first deal with the latter event and see how Italian violation of the Covenant of the League further undermined its prestige and influence and paved the way for further German repudiation of the Peace Treaty.

Italian Invasion and Conquest of Abyssinia (Ethiopia) (1935-36)

Italy had returned empty handed from the Peace Conference. Her ambitions of territorial aggrandizement which the Allies had promised to satisfy by the Treaty of London (1915) had been thwarted and she felt extremely discontented with the Peace Settlement. Yet she did not abandon her expansionist designs altogether. There were two possible regions of expansion, Eastern Europe or Africa. She had hoped to extend her influence in the Danubian basin and the Balkan peninsula. She had even dreamt of converting the Mediterranean into an Italian lake. But the hostility of France and Yugoslavia and other members of the Little Entente had barred her passage eastward. Moreover, she was fully conscious of the fact that no expansion in Europe was possible through peaceful negotiations and armed aggression would provoke force. She would be resisted not only by France and her satellites but by the whole of Europe. The League of Nations was bound to intervene as she had done in other European conflicts. Therefore, she gave up all hopes of territorial gains in Europe and concentrated her attention on Africa.

The obvious field of expansion there was the rich State of Abyssinia which lay between the Italian colonies of Eritrea and Somaliland. In the past too, attempts had been made by Italy to conquer Abyssinia between 1893 and 1896, but they were defeated on account of the opposition and hostility of France. By the tripartite agreement of 1906, Great Britain, France and

Italy, had agreed to preserve the integrity and independence of Abyssinia. Relations between Italy and Abyssinia gradually improved. In 1923, supported by Italy and France she was admitted to the League in spite of British opposition. In August, 1928, a treaty of friendship was concluded between Italy and Abyssinia and both parties agreed to respect the territorial independence of each other and promised to settle their dispute by conciliation and arbitration. Yet in spite of the treaties of 1906 and 1928, Italy continued to plan for her expansion in Abyssinia. Emboldened by the successful Japanese aggression in Manchuria (1931-32) and the failure of the League to stop it, Italy began to make preparations on a large scale in 1933 for the conquest of Abyssinia. According to her "the project of aggression in Abyssinia seemed to be a relatively safe speculation", as it might not incur the hostility of all the European Powers. Having made elaborate arrangements for an invasion, Italy waited for a suitable pretext to launch the offensive. The opportunity was provided by the "Walwal incident". Both sides claimed this town and on 5 December, 1934 in a clash between the Italians and Abyssinians, about 30 Italian native soldiers were killed and over 100 wounded. The Abyssinian casualties were heavier still. Italy demanded compensation and an apology from Abyssinia. She had expected to provoke Abyssinia by these demands, but the latter refused to be provoked and preferred to submit the dispute to arbitration under the Italo-Abyssinian treaty of 1928. The Italian government rejected the proposal on the plea that the facts of the case were indisputable and Abyssinia must comply with her demands. Abyssinia therefore appealed to the League under Article 11 of the Covenant on 3 January, 1935. The timing of this appeal was most inopportune because France on whom she had counted for support was very anxious to come to an understanding with Italy in view of the grave Nazi threat in Central Europe (see p. 509). Laval, the French Foreign Minister, was already in Rome to negotiate a pact of friendship with Mussolini. The Abyssinian complaint to the League was likely to queer the pitch for friendly negotiations between France and Italy and, therefore, on the advice of the former, Italy expressed her willingness to settle the Walwal dispute by conciliation and arbitration under the 1928 Treaty. On 1 January, 1935, a Franco-Italian Pact of friendship was signed and the old feud between the two

countries came to an end (see p. 502). The terms of the pact in respect of Italo-Abyssinian relations were rather ambiguous. While Italy concluded that she had been given a free hand in Abyssinia, France held that she was given a free hand only in the economic development of Abyssinia. Laval affirmed vehemently that "nothing in the Rome agreement tampers with the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Ethiopia". Having assured herself of French neutrality Italy now embarked on an aggressive foreign policy towards Abyssinia. Henceforth she decided to abandon "all attempts at disguise" and in the words of Marshal de Bono, a veteran Italian soldier, "from the plan of manoeuvred defensive followed by a counter offensive, we were obliged to change over to the plan of an offensive action". Italy delayed the appointment of arbitrators and meanwhile concentrated large forces on the borders of Abyssinia. The troop movement was reinforced with a campaign of bribery and intrigue in order to win over the local Abyssinian officials. Italian military preparations alarmed Abyssinia and she invoked Article 15 of the League to intervene on 17 March. The timing of this appeal also was most unfortunate as only on the previous day Hitler had repudiated the military clauses of the Treaty of Versailles and had proclaimed his intention to rearm (see p. 509). The Great Powers and the League consequently were concerned with the grave problem of Nazi challenge to peace and were in no mood to give priority to the Abyssinian complaint. Even at the Stresa conference held in April, 1935, to consider the threat of German rearmament the British and French delegates did not raise the question of alleged Italian aggression against Abyssinia for fear of offending Italy whose friendship they needed badly against the German menace. Mussolini was emboldened by the Anglo-French indifference to his Abyssinian venture and went ahead with military preparations. On the persistent demand of Abyssinia the Council appealed to the two parties to settle the dispute by arbitration. In May, Italy finally agreed to appoint arbitrators. In reality she had no intention of solving the dispute by arbitration, she was only playing for time and was merely bluffing the League.

The arbitration commission met at the Hague to settle the Italo-Abyssinian dispute and was lost in the confusion of claims and counter-claims. On 3 September it pronounced that the Walwal incident was of very minor importance and exonerated

both sides. Meanwhile efforts were made by Great Britain to settle the quarrel. Eden, the British Minister for League Affairs, visited Rome in June and proposed to Il Duce a compromise solution. According to it Abyssinia would cede to Italy a large part of Ogaden and in return the British would give Zeila in British Somaliland to Abyssinia. This would give the latter an outlet to the sea. Mussolini rejected the British offer as inadequate because, firstly, he did not want a conciliation with Abyssinia and was determined on annexing it and, secondly, the cession of Zeila and access to the sea would have strengthened Abyssinia.

While the arbitration commission was at work, the Council referred the question of Italo-Abyssinian relations to a three-Power conference consisting of Great Britain, France and Italy, the three signatory powers to the Treaty of 1906. The Conference met at Paris in August and proposed that Abyssinia should apply to the League of Nations for assistance for her economic development and that the League, considering the "special interests of Italy", would recommend her to render the aid. Mussolini, who was bent on aggression, rejected the proposal outright on 18 August and sent the following message to Marshal de Bono, Commander of Italian forces in Eritrea: "Conference settled nothing; Geneva will settle the same; Settle it". The Council met on 4 September after the arbitral tribunal's award on the 3 to take stock of the situation. From now onwards it was clear that Italy was determined on aggression. A last minute effort was made by Samuel Hoare, the British Foreign Secretary, to deter Mussolini from embarking on the invasion of Abyssinia. On 11 September in a solemn declaration Hoare announced that Great Britain would stand by the League and carry out its obligations under the Covenant. This pronouncement had no effect on Il Duce. He had already decided on aggression and on 3 October Italy invaded Abyssinia.

The Italian invasion of Abyssinia posed a serious threat to the Covenant of the League as it was naked aggression by one member State against another. If the League failed to afford security to its members, it was doomed to failure. The first reaction of the members was to save the League from disaster. So on 7 October by a unanimous vote of the members—Italy, of course, abstained—Italy was pronounced an aggressor and the Council recommended action against her under Article 16. A committee was appointed

to recommend what sanctions should be applied against Italy. Its recommendations included the imposition of embargo on arms, financial loans and exports of raw material, excluding oil, to Italy. It also prohibited imports from Italy. On 11 October, 51 nations voted in favour of applying economic sanctions and they came into force from 18 November. The issue of the sanctions under Article 16 of the Covenant confronted France with a dilemma. In the past she had always demanded the application of sanctions against the aggressor. If she refused to vote for them now her position would be compromised and instead of strengthening the system of collective security she would undermine it. While if she supported them, she would offend seriously a new but valuable ally whose aid was extremely vital for her in resisting the revival of Nazi Germany. She had no choice but to fall in line with the large majority in the League. Italy was hard hit by the application of sanctions, but she boldly faced the situation by imposing food rationing and adopting a rigid control of raw materials.

In the early stages the war did not go favourably for the Italians. They captured Adua on 6 October, but after that their advance was much slower than expected. The Abyssinians put up a very stiff resistance. After a bitter struggle the Italians captured Makalle on 8 November. It was realized that the aged Marshal de Bono was too old to conduct the campaign and was therefore replaced by Marshal Pietro Badoglio.

Both Great Britain and France were apprehensive of Italian defeat in Abyssinia. It might have its repercussions on the European scene where Nazi Germany posed a serious threat to European security. It might even lead to a war between Italy and Great Britain, the principal Power behind the sanctions. Relations between them almost reached a crisis in December. Great Britain, consequently, concluded pacts of mutual assistance with France, Yugoslavia, Greece and Turkey, and concentrated a large fleet in the Mediterranean. Her military strength was still poor and she did not have adequate air protection.

France which was already lukewarm in applying sanctions was eager to solve the Italo-Abyssinian dispute. Great Britain too was anxious to find a compromise formula to end the conflict. Therefore together they explored the possibilities of ending the Abyssinian war. Samuel Hoare visited Paris and in consultation

with Laval concluded the much criticized "Hoare-Laval" Pact (December, 1935). According to it, Italy was to be appeased by the cession of large territories at the cost of Abyssinia—territories much larger than those actually conquered by Italy so far—and Abyssinia was to be compensated by a corridor to the sea through British Somaliland.

These proposals caused a storm of protests and British public opinion sharply reacted against the idea of helping an aggressor with such large bits of territory. The British press and people severely denounced Hoare, who had only a few months back expressed the British intention to stand by the Covenant of the League. In the face of this vehement criticism Hoare had to resign. He was replaced by Eden. The Hoare-Laval proposals remained a dead letter.

"Italy weathered the sanctionist storm, the more so as the nations could not agree to apply the oil sanction." In March, 1936, the European scene was further complicated by Hitler's occupation of the Rhineland and the attention of the Great Powers, particularly of France and Great Britain, was diverted from the Italian campaign to the grave situation nearer home. Italy was practically given a free hand, and she launched a new offensive at the end of April and bombed Abyssinian cities from the air and also used poison gas. The Abyssinian resistance broke down and Addis Ababa, the capital, fell on 5 May. The Emperor Ras Tafari, better known as Haile Selassie, had already fled to England on the 1st. Within a week all opposition in Abyssinia collapsed and on 9 May the King of Italy was proclaimed as Emperor of Abyssinia. With the end of the struggle, the issue of sanctions also was given a formal burial. The Council voted for their withdrawal on 15 July.

The Italian conquest of Abyssinia was yet another set-back to the prestige of the League which had already suffered by the Japanese aggression in Manchuria. In the case of Italy the blow was all the more severe because Italian aggression had succeeded against another member State in the face of economic sanctions applied under Article 16 of the Covenant. It might be stated that the sanctions were applied rather half-heartedly by most member States and that the Italian invasion succeeded because the League could not place an embargo on oil as it was not controlled by the member States. The failure of the League

raised the very serious question of the effectiveness of the Covenant in stopping wars, the purpose for which the League had been established. It was strongly realized that the Covenant as it was did not provide adequate safeguard against a determined aggressor and some more serious steps than mere economic sanctions alone could act as a deterrent in such cases.

It might also be argued that the League would have succeeded in foiling Fascist designs of aggression if Europe had not been menaced by the Nazi violation of the Treaty of Versailles at the same time. Hitler's repudiation of the military clauses of the Treaty and his occupation of the Rhineland in March, 1936, distracted the attention of the League from the Abyssinian war and allowed a freer hand to Italy to pursue her nefarious intentions of over-running a weak and helpless member of the League.

Another factor which helped Italy to succeed in her aggression was the conflicting attitude of France and Great Britain towards the real functions of the League. The former regarded the League only as a means to preserve peace in Europe. An aggression outside Europe according to her was not of much importance and she was prepared to take a lenient view of it. Therefore she was lukewarm in applying sanctions against Italy. Great Britain, on the other hand, strongly felt that irrespective of the seat of aggression it was the imperative duty of the League to stop all conflicts. She also realized that sanctions, if they were to succeed, must be applied by all Powers equally.

Yet another factor of which Mussolini took full advantage was the weak and inconsistent policy of Great Britain and France towards the conflict. After voting for sanctions, they should have gone all out to apply them with vigour, rather than trying to appease the aggressor by the Hoare-Laval proposals.

Having dealt with Italian aggression in Abyssinia, we shall now follow the course of Nazi aggression which finally brought about a complete collapse of the system of collective security and engulfed the world once again in a more devastating and brutal war than the First World War.

The German Repudiation of the Treaty of Versailles (1933-39)

The accession of the National Socialists to power in January, 1933 introduced a new element fraught with dangerous potentialities in international relations. Hitler's outspoken statements of his

foreign policy had left no doubt in the minds of European Powers that he was determined to repudiate the terms of the "dictated" peace. His phenomenal rise to power was largely based on his antagonism to the Peace Settlement and it was expected, nay, it was even certain, that he would demand its revision. However, no European Power could ever dream in 1933 that Hitler would act with such great speed in violating it and within a short space of six years shake the very foundations of the structure of security woven round the Peace Treaties and the Covenant of the League. Below we shall discuss the steps by which he repudiated the Treaty of Versailles.

(1) **The Austrian Coup (25 July, 1934).** The erstwhile Austro-Hungarian empire was completely dismembered at the Peace Conference. Austria proper was considerably reduced in size and was now a purely German State. Her economy was badly disrupted, as all her former rich provinces had been separated from her and constituted into independent sovereign States. She had no outlet to the sea. Her industries and trade were hard hit by the high tariff walls raised by her neighbours. Economically, her only salvation lay in a union with Germany. But such a union or "Anschluss" was expressly prohibited by the Peace Treaties. During the great economic crisis, a customs union between Germany and Austria was proposed (1931) by the two governments, but it was bitterly opposed by France which feared that a customs union might lead to a political union and hence it did not materialize (see p. 480).

After the War Austria had set up a democratic republic. The three principal political parties were the Social Democrats (Socialists), the Nationalists, and the Christian Socialists. The first of these had sympathies with the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia and hoped to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat in Austria one day. The Nationalists represented the conservative element which would welcome the restoration of the monarchy. They were divided into two groups. One group was led by Prince Ernst Von Starhemberg who had Fascist leanings and took his inspiration from Mussolini. He intensely hated Hitler and the Social Democrats. The other group was composed of National Socialists who were ardent admirers of Hitler, his policy and programme and desired a union with Germany. Gradually these two groups drifted apart. The Christian Socialists followed

a middle-of-the-road policy and were staunch supporters of the new constitution. The political atmosphere was vitiated by inter-party rivalry and jealousy and no single party could form the government. Usually there were coalitions between the Christian Socialists and the Nationalists.

In May, 1932 Dr. Engelbert Dollfuss, leader of the Christian Socialists, the most popular party, became Chancellor. For some time he sought the co-operation of the Socialists in running the government, but it was an uneasy coalition. As the threat of National Socialism increased after Hitler's accession to power, he turned to the Fascist party of Starhemberg for support. By this move he alienated the Socialists and at the same time divided the Fascists from the Nazis.

Ever since the Peace Settlement there was a strong desire in Austria for a political union with Germany. But the Great Powers, particularly France and Italy, would not countenance a union between the two countries. The former dreaded that a greater Germany would be a still greater menace to her security and would constitute a serious challenge to her hegemony in Europe. The Union would amount to a violation of the Peace Treaties and once a repudiation of the Treaties was tolerated there would be no end to it. Italy opposed the Union because she did not like a strong neighbour on her northern frontiers. Moreover she aspired to extend her own influence in Austria and therefore was anxious to keep her away from the clutches of the Nazis. So the principle of self-determination was sacrificed at the altar of the balance of power.

The victory of the National Socialists in Germany did not create a favourable reaction in Austria and traditional Austrian sympathy was turned into open hostility on account of the Nazi brutalities particularly against the Jews and the Catholic Church. Yet the German Nazis plotted and intrigued with the Austrian National Socialists to stage a coup and overthrow Dr. Dollfuss. Arms and money were lavishly distributed among the Austrian Nazis and they carried on a violent anti-government campaign and almost shook the government. So in March, 1933, Dr. Dollfuss suspended the Parliamentary form of government and banned all militias except the Fascist Heimwehr which was loyal to him. Restrictions were imposed on the Press. Further steps were taken to crush the National Socialists and Herr Habicht, the German "Inspector

for Austria", was expelled and the Nazi party was dissolved in June, 1933.

Under the influence of Fascism Dr. Dollfuss decided to carry out far-reaching constitutional changes, which were bitterly opposed by the Social Democrats and the National Socialists. The latter were strongly supported by the expelled Nazis in Germany who carried on a violent campaign of hate against Dr. Dollfuss on the wireless and incited the people to overthrow the government. Therefore in February 1934, Dollfuss passed a decree banning all opposition parties and ruthlessly crushed the Social Democrats with the help of the army and Fascist Heimwehr. Great Britain, France and Italy were alarmed at the Nazi propaganda against Austria and on 17 February issued a joint declaration affirming "a common view of the necessity of maintaining Austrian independence and integrity in accordance with the relevant treaties". Italy was particularly perturbed at the prospect of a Nazi revolution in Austria and so in March she signed the Rome Protocol establishing close and friendly relations with Austria and Hungary. The menace of Nazi aggression threw Dr. Dollfuss more and more into the lap of Italy which established "a quasi protective relation" with Austria.

The new constitution which was modelled on the Fascist pattern was adopted in April, and Austria was declared "a Christian corporate state". The new government was virtually a dictatorship of the Christian Socialist Party under the leadership of Dr. Dollfuss and Starhemberg.

The Austrian Nazis lay low for some time, but helped by the Germans they organized themselves underground. German Nazi volunteers concentrated on the frontiers and were smuggled into Austria. On 25 July they staged a coup in Vienna and captured the radio station and the Chancellery. Dr. Dollfuss was caught and shot dead. Pro-Nazi risings took place in other towns also and the whole governmental machinery was paralyzed for a few days. The Nazis failed to win over the army which soon suppressed the Nazi revolt. The dictatorship of the Christian Socialists was restored under the leadership of Kurt Schuschnigg and Starhemberg. The only major casualty in the coup was Dr. Dollfuss.

The Nazi *putsch* failed because the Austrian army, the Fascist Heimwehr and a large majority of people remained loyal to the

government. The German government much against its will was deterred from helping the Nazi revolt for fear of Italian intervention. Mussolini had already moved Italian forces to the frontier and had solemnly declared that the "independence of Austria will be defended" at all costs. The failure of the coup was a major defeat of National Socialism. The German government officially disclaimed all complicity in the coup and recalled its ambassador from Vienna.

The Nazi misadventure in Austria had its repercussions on international alliances. Firstly, Italy which had so far followed an anti-French policy was definitely driven into the French camp and Germany lost a possible ally. The common danger of Nazi aggression brought France and Italy close together and in January, 1935, they concluded a treaty of friendship (see p. 502). Secondly, it roused bitter indignation against the Nazis in other European countries as well. Thirdly, it thoroughly discredited Hitler and the National Socialists and all hopes of a union between Austria and Germany were shattered for the time being. Relations between the two countries remained very strained for the next two years. It was only in 1936 when Hitler assured Austria that he had no intention to interfere in her internal affairs that a rapprochement was made between them.

(2) **German Rearmament (1935).** After the failure of the Nazi coup in Austria, Hitler moved cautiously for some time. He did not want to offend the Allies any further, particularly in view of the uncertain situation in the Saar. According to the Peace Treaty a plebiscite was due in January, 1935, and all those inhabitants who were resident in the Saar on 28 June, 1919 were entitled to vote. A few months before the due date Nazi agents organized the "Deutsche Front" in the Saar and carried on a campaign in favour of union with Germany. Their agitation embittered Franco-German relations and at one stage it was seriously proposed that the elections should be postponed. However, the League stuck to its schedule and a plebiscite was to be held on 13 January, 1935. The residents in the Saar had to choose between the three possibilities: a union with Germany, maintenance of the *status quo*, that is, continuation of the rule of the League Commission, and a union with France. The result of the voting recorded an overwhelming majority of over 90 per cent for a merger with Germany and on 1 March amidst scenes of wild

Nazi jubilation the Saar was returned to Germany and the curtain was finally rung on an act which at one time tended to embitter international relations. With the acquisition of the Saar Hitler categorically declared that he had no further territorial ambitions in the west. His pronouncement created a favourable response in Western countries and further strengthened the system of security guaranteed by the Locarno Pact.

Hitler's declaration applied only to the western frontiers of Germany. She had not accepted the eastern and southern boundaries as final and binding at Locarno though she had given an assurance that she would not use force in altering them. But that was way back in 1925 and the Nazi government was not bound by the pledges of its predecessors. A resurgent Germany would break all unjust shackles imposed on her by the Peace Treaty. Already after the withdrawal of the German delegates from the Disarmament Conference in October, 1933 and the resignation of Germany from the League, Germany had begun military preparations secretly. Once the Saar issue was favourably settled, she felt no need to win the good will of Great Britain and France and therefore Hitler once again adopted an aggressive foreign policy. "The short but dramatic period of fifteen months which began in March, 1935 was marked by the open violation on a scale yet unknown in post-war hostility of international engagements."

Rumours of surreptitious rearming by Germany, in spite of the utmost secrecy, leaked out and caused grave misgivings in Great Britain and France. They had already been alarmed at the unsuccessful Nazi coup in Austria (1934). At a conference between the representatives of Great Britain and France in London in February, 1935, it was realized that the time had come to revise the disarmament clauses of the Treaty of Versailles. But France wanted to make sure that a rearmed Germany would not unilaterally denounce the Treaty and upset the balance of power in eastern and central Europe. At the conclusion of the conference a statement of Anglo-French policy was issued and Germany was invited to join the proposed Eastern Pact (see p. 501). They also proposed to reinforce the Locarno treaties, which only guaranteed land support, with an "Air Pact" or "Air Locarno" under which the Air Forces of the Western Powers would be available to a signatory of the Locarno Pact who was the victim of an aerial attack by any other contracting member or members.

This policy statement had a mixed reception in Germany. Hitler straightway rejected the Eastern Pact as it might tie his hands in carrying out his aggressive plans in Eastern Europe, but he was certainly interested in the proposal of an "Air Locarno". According to German interpretation it might imply the creation and recognition of an air force in Germany, as a matter of fact Germany had already secretly built up a small air force. However, to seek further clarification of the proposal Hitler invited Simon and Eden to Berlin. They were scheduled to arrive on 7 March. But before the meeting could take place, the British Government issued a memorandum for the benefit of Parliament, drawing its attention to the fact that Germany was "rearming openly on a large scale despite the provisions of Part V of the Treaty of Versailles". It also explained the steps which the Government proposed to take to strengthen the armed forces. There was a storm of protest in Germany against the accusation contained in the Parliamentary paper. Consequently, the political climate in Germany was not favourable for parleys with Great Britain. Hitler developed a diplomatic "cold" and postponed his meeting with the British ministers. Meanwhile, France also announced her intention to increase her army by lowering the age of recruitment and doubling the period of service.

The proposed British and French programme of rearmament irritated Hitler and on 16 March, 1935 he declared, to the consternation of the whole of Europe, that Germany was no longer bound by the Disarmament clauses of the Peace Treaty and announced his determination to rearm. He fixed the German armed strength in peacetime at 550,000 men and also published a decree introducing conscription. The proposed peacetime strength of the German army would be far in excess of the British or French strength and so it caused grave anxiety among them. Great Britain, France and Italy protested to Germany. France also lodged a formal complaint with the League and demanded a special session of the Council. The three Powers also decided to meet at Stresa in April to discuss the situation created by Hitler's unexpected and dramatic decision.

Meanwhile Hitler renewed his invitation to Simon and Eden. It caused grave uneasiness in France, but the British government saw no justification for rejecting it. Simon and Eden arrived in Berlin on 25 March. They found Hitler adamant in the matter

of the strength of his land forces, but he was prepared to agree to a limitation of material accepted by other Powers. He also demanded parity with France in the air force and a naval quota of 35 per cent of the British strength. These demands were utterly unacceptable to Great Britain and so the talks broke down.

The Stresa Conference (April, 1935). The Stresa Conference was held on 11 April, 1935 to present a "united front" to the German action. It drafted a resolution for submission to the League Council condemning the German action of unilaterally repudiating the terms of the Treaty of Versailles. It affirmed its adherence to the Locarno treaties and approved the proposal of an Eastern Pact. It also discussed inconclusively, the proposition of allowing the former enemy States of Austria and Hungary to rearm. Italy favoured the proposal while France opposed it. The Conference turned a blind eye to the Italian plan of aggression in Abyssinia in order to present a common front against Germany.

The League Council met from 15 to 17 April and passed unanimously, only Denmark abstaining, the resolution jointly sponsored by Great Britain, France and Italy. Germany was censured for repudiating the Treaty but no further action was taken against her. The Council also appointed a Committee to suggest measures to strengthen the Covenant so that further violation by member and non-member States could be effectively checked.

During the next few weeks there was intense diplomatic activity and on 2 May a Franco-Russian Treaty of mutual assistance was concluded. It was followed by a similar treaty between Russia and Czechoslovakia.

In the light of these alliances Hitler made a major speech on 21 May outlining his foreign policy. He strongly denounced the Franco-Russian military alliance and justified his action in rearming Germany. But he categorically declared that he would not increase the Reich army beyond the figure fixed by him. He also reaffirmed the German determination to achieve parity in air strength with France, but he assured Great Britain that at sea he would not demand more than 35 per cent of the British strength. He also declared that he had no intention to occupy the demilitarized zone in the Rhineland. He proclaimed his adherence to the Locarno Treaty and promised that Germany would honour all her international obligations "voluntarily assumed". Finally,

he appealed to all Powers to stop "irresponsible propaganda" and "not to meddle in the internal affairs of any country".

The Anglo-German Naval Agreement (18 June, 1935). Hitler's speech was not regarded as unfriendly by Great Britain, and the British Government was anxious to conclude a naval agreement with Hitler while he was in a conciliatory mood. German delegates were invited to London and after brief negotiations an Anglo-German naval pact was signed on 18 June and Germany agreed to limit her navy to 35 per cent of the British strength. This bilateral agreement was bitterly criticized by France and relations between her and Great Britain were estranged. Hitler succeeded in his effort to break up the "Stresa Front".

(3) Hitler's occupation of the Rhineland (7 March, 1936).

After the Anglo-German naval pact, Hitler executed his rearmament programme with lightning speed. Army, air force and navy were all well organized and well equipped in the least possible time. Hitler was ready for another offensive against the Peace Treaties. He waited for a suitable moment to launch it.

By the Treaty of Versailles the Rhineland had been converted into a demilitarized zone and Germany was forbidden to build any fortifications there. At Locarno all signatory powers, including Germany, had guaranteed to honour this provision. But ever since the conclusion of the Franco-Soviet Treaty in May, 1935 Germany had been protesting that it was incompatible with the spirit of the Locarno Pact. When the Treaty mentioned above was ratified by the French Chamber of Deputies on 27 February, 1936, Hitler decided to denounce the demilitarization clauses of the Treaty. Consequently on 7 March, 1936, German troops marched into the Rhineland and the British, French, Belgian and Italian governments were notified accordingly. This action of Hitler was not only a violation of the "dictated" Peace of Versailles, but also of the Locarno Treaty which was voluntarily accepted by Germany.

Simultaneously with the remilitarization of the Rhineland Hitler issued a memorandum embodying fresh proposals for collaboration and co-operation with European Powers. He offered a non-aggression pact for 25 years with the Western Powers on the lines of the Locarno treaties; bilateral treaties with her eastern and southern neighbours and a new demilitarized zone on the Franco-German border. On the acceptance of these

proposals he was prepared to rejoin the League. He made these proposals with the twin object of softening the effect of his sudden blow to the system of security and of dividing his enemies. His calculations were not wrong, as we shall presently notice.

Hitler took full advantage of the world situation and timed his new offensive against the Treaty of Versailles and the Locarno Pact, when the League of Nations was deeply involved in the crisis of the economic sanctions against Italy in the Abyssinian war. Under the circumstances the Western Powers could not attempt any reprisals. The German High Command expected armed intervention by the Allies, but "Herr Hitler had however, more correctly judged the tempo of the powers affected. The suddenness of his action brought into play, to his advantage, the time lag in public opinion." Great Britain, France and Belgium held hurried consultations among themselves and an extraordinary session of the Council was summoned in London on 12 March to discuss steps to be taken against Germany. It only once again castigated Germany for her violation of the Peace Treaty and the Locarno Pact.

The Chiefs of Staff of Great Britain, France and Belgium held joint consultations and chalked out a plan of defence if Germany attacked France. Great Britain, however, was more interested in condoning Hitler's past actions and in examining his fresh proposals than in an armed intervention.

The Locarno Powers also studied Hitler's memorandum and proposed that the dispute about the incompatibility of the Franco-Soviet and Locarno Pacts should be referred to the International Court of Justice and both sides should accept its decision as final and binding. Pending further negotiations on the basis of Hitler's proposals, Germany should keep only a limited force in the Rhineland. Hitler did not accept these proposals, and submitted counter-proposals and was not prepared to forego the German right to remilitarize the Rhineland.

The "Peace Plans" proposed by Germany or the Locarno Powers bore no fruit. In May, the British Government made a fresh approach and issued a questionnaire to the German government asking for further clarification of its proposals. Hitler kept quiet and made no reply. In September negotiations were opened again, but while Hitler was ready to consider proposals of fresh pacts with the West, he was not prepared to conclude any treaty with Russia.

The Allies were largely to blame for the violations of the Peace Treaty by Germany. Great Britain and France allowed Germany to rearm in 1935. The occupation of the Rhineland was a natural corollary of German rearmament. If they had taken joint military action in 1935, or even in 1936, Germany might have possibly been overwhelmed. But their acquiescence in the German aggression emboldened Hitler to carry out further repudiations of the Peace Treaties.

The End of Locarno. The remilitarization of the Rhineland was as great a blow to Belgian security as it was to the French. In the context of Nazi rearmament and occupation of the Rhineland, Belgium revised her policy towards the Locarno Pact. She did not want to be involved in a war between France and Germany as a result of the Franco-Soviet Pact. Therefore, King Leopold in a speech on 14 October, 1936 said, "We must follow a policy exclusively and entirely Belgian. That policy should aim resolutely at placing us outside any disputes of our neighbours." In pursuance of this policy Belgium announced that she was no longer bound by her commitments under the Locarno Pact and like Switzerland she adopted a completely neutral policy in the disputes of her neighbours. Both Great Britain and France accepted the Belgian view and both guaranteed her neutrality in any future conflict.

Belgian withdrawal from the system of Western security signified the end of Locarno which had already been weakened by the German action in the Rhineland.

After remilitarization of the Rhineland, Hitler waited for some time to spring further surprises on an already alarmed Europe. He patiently watched the international reaction to his repudiation of the Locarno Treaty.

The Montreux Conference (June, 1936). The immediate effect of Hitler's action was the reopening of the question of remilitarization of the Straits. By the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) they had been demilitarized but Turkey had been demanding their reoccupation for some time. After the German repudiation the European Powers relaxed their stiff attitude towards maintaining the *status quo* and were in favour of revising the Treaty lest Turkey should also follow the example of Germany. They wanted to solve the issue by conciliation rather than by violence. So when Turkey again appealed to the signatory Powers in June,

an international conference was summoned at Montreux to discuss the question. The Turkish request was accepted notwithstanding the opposition of Italy. The control of the Straits was handed over to Turkey.

Both Germany and Italy were dissatisfied with the outcome of the Montreux Conference as they regarded it as a major concession to the Franco-Soviet alliance. Italy suspected that the Russian navy might be allowed access to the eastern Mediterranean and challenge her hegemony in that region. In Italian discontent Hitler saw a golden opportunity of resolving Italo-German differences. Already there were several factors which helped him to effect a rapprochement with Mussolini. Both countries had assisted each other, quite inadvertently, in fulfilling their ambitions. The preoccupation of the Western Powers with the Abyssinian war provided Hitler a suitable opportunity to occupy the Rhineland and Hitler's action helped Italy in completing the conquest of Abyssinia without much opposition as the attention of the Allies was focussed on the Rhineland issue and they could not apply the sanctions with success. Both countries had been censored by the League. Again, both countries were animated by strong anti-Communist feelings and were extremely hostile to Soviet Russia. Yet in spite of these factors, friendship between the two was not possible as long as Hitler had aggressive designs on Austria. Italy would never allow Germany to repeat the Nazi misadventure of 1934. If Hitler could somehow allay the suspicion and fears of Italy on the Austrian issue, the time was most opportune for an agreement with her.

The Austro-German Agreement (July, 1936). Relations between Germany and Austria had been very strained ever since the unsuccessful Nazi *putsch*. Hitler was now anxious to put an end to the bitter feelings on both sides of the border not because he had renounced his aggressive designs on Austria, but because an agreement with Austria must precede an alliance with Italy. In pursuance of this policy, Hitler approached Dr. Schuschnigg, the Austrian Chancellor, and expressed the German desire to shed past animosity and to re-establish friendly relations with Austria. Schuschnigg accepted the hand of friendship offered by Hitler and on 11 July an Austro-German pact was signed. Germany assured Austria that she would respect her independence and sovereignty and would abstain from interference in her internal

affairs. It was mutually agreed that Austria would acknowledge her status as a German State and would pursue a policy that "befitted" such a State. It was further stipulated that nothing in the pact would mitigate against the terms of the Rome Protocol, governing Austria's relations with Italy. The last provision was included specially to disarm Italian suspicions.

The Austro-German Pact had a double advantage for Germany. On the one hand it brought to an end the long-standing Austrian hostility towards her and, on the other, it paved the way for an Italo-German alliance. The consummation of this alliance was further facilitated by the outbreak of a civil war in Spain.

The Spanish Civil War (1936-39). We shall not deal with the fortunes of the belligerents in the Spanish civil war, but shall confine ourselves largely to its reactions on international relations. Spain had been a cockpit of intrigues and counter-intrigues as a result of which the stability of her government had been seriously undermined. In 1931, Alfonso XIII abdicated and a democratic government was installed in the country. But democracy was foreign to the genius of the Spanish people. There were constant inter-party frictions between the Rightists and the Leftists and these disputes completely disrupted the economic life of the country. For some time the menace of Communism was mounting and it was suspected that Russian money was freely flowing into the country. The elections of 1936 and the Communist victory ushered in a period of crisis and conflict. The army which was extremely hostile to the Communist government was getting restive and the murder of Calvo Sotelo, a Rightist leader, was the signal for an insurrection by the army under the leadership of General Franco. The revolt originated in Spanish Morocco in July, 1936. Franco soon crossed over to the mainland and for the next three years Spain was engulfed in a bitter Civil War. She was soon converted into a cockpit of European power politics on account of the intervention of Fascist and non-Fascist Powers in the Spanish conflict.

From the beginning, Italy and Germany were keenly interested in the struggle and Italian volunteers and Air Force were already helping the insurgent army leaders. Italy hoped that if Franco was victorious in the Civil War, she would have not only a friendly government in Spain, but she would be able to extend her influence in the western Mediterranean also. Hitler was interested in the

struggle for two reasons. Firstly, he regarded the Spanish Civil War as a conflict between the forces of Communism and Fascism and on ideological grounds he wanted to support the insurgent army leaders. He was by nature allergic to Russia and since Russian volunteers were helping the Communist government, he wanted to wage a holy war against Communism. Secondly, if Franco won, a friendly Spanish government would be installed in Spain and it would be a thorn in the side of France. Franco's victory would considerably offset the advantage which France derived from the Franco-Soviet alliance.

German volunteers also poured into Spain to help the forces of General Franco. Italian and German volunteers joined the rebel army and fought shoulder to shoulder against the Communist government. Their co-operation on the battlefield soon led to a political rapprochement also. Hitler had already assured Mussolini by the Austro-German Pact that he had no intentions of extending German influence in Austria and that he would respect Italian interests there. Consequently on 25 October, 1936 an Italo-German Pact was signed. This laid the foundation of the Rome-Berlin axis which not only counteracted the effects of the Franco-Soviet Treaty but also divided Europe into two blocs, the Fascists and the non-Fascists.

The Civil War in Spain raged with great ferocity and Franco conquered most of southern and western Spain. Even before he could capture Madrid, both Germany and Italy "recognized" his government in November, 1936.

From the outset the Spanish Civil War had become a war of ideology. The Fascist Powers supported the insurgent army and Soviet Russia assisted the Communist government. There was always a grave danger that if foreign intervention was not checked, it might lead to a European conflict. Therefore, Great Britain tried to localize the struggle and in consultation with France appealed to all the interested Powers to desist from participation in it and to impose an arms embargo on Spain. In August, a non-intervention agreement was signed and an international non-intervention committee was formed in London to see that Russian, Italian and German volunteers were withdrawn and no arms were supplied to either belligerent. Notwithstanding this agreement foreign legionaries continued to pour in and the Italian government openly praised the glorious achievements of Italian volunteers.

Great Britain continued to appeal for the withdrawal of volunteers and on 2 January, 1937 concluded a "Gentleman's Agreement" with Italy by which each side recognized the rights of the other in the Mediterranean, and Italy promised to withdraw her volunteers. The agreement remained a dead letter.

The Spanish Civil War provided a fruitful field of co-operation between Italy and Germany and resulted in a friendly alliance between the two countries. The bond of friendship between them was further strengthened by the exchange of visits between Mussolini and Hitler. In September 1937, Mussolini visited Munich to meet Hitler and in his reply to the welcome speech supported Germany's claim for the return of former German colonies. A return visit by Hitler in May, 1938, made the Rome-Berlin axis still stronger in spite of the complications and bitterness temporarily caused by the Austrian crisis in March, 1938, which threatened to break the Italo-German alliance (see p. 526).

Anti-Comintern Pact (25 November, 1936). At this stage it would be worthwhile to take note of Hitler's diplomatic activity in another sphere.

Since the Manchurian invasion, Japan had been without an ally and she was surrounded by hostile neighbours. Her expansion into Manchuria had revived the old rivalry with Soviet Russia and frequent border clashes in Manchuria had severely strained relations between them. Japan's relations with China were also strained as she was planning further aggression in North and Central China before the Nationalist government could consolidate its gains. Before doing so she was eager to find an ally. Hitler, whose hatred of Communism was no secret, offered a hand of friendship to Japan and on 25 November, 1936, a German-Japanese Agreement popularly known as the Anti-Comintern Pact was signed. It was mainly directed against international communism.

This Anti-Comintern Pact was further strengthened by an Italo-Japanese alliance on 6 November, 1937. It was followed by Italy's resignation from the League on 11 December.

Thus the world was again divided into two blocs, the "haves" and the "have nots" or those who wanted to revise wholesale the Peace Treaties and those who stood for the maintenance of the *status quo*. Germany, Italy and Japan had many factors common to them. Firstly, they had all violated the Peace Treaties and the Covenant and for that they had been censored by the League and

declared aggressors. Secondly, they had been consistently opposed by the European powers in the realization of their expansionist ambitions. Thirdly, they had a common hatred of Communism. In view of their identical interests it was inevitable that one day they were bound to come together in a common alliance. The consummation of the Anti-Comintern Pact and the conversion of the Rome-Berlin axis into the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis was a dangerous challenge to the Franco-Soviet alliance and was fraught with serious potentialities of violence as all the three signatories had further aggressive intentions.

German annexation of Austria (12 March, 1938). On 14 November, 1936, when Germany denounced the international control of her waterways, Hitler made a dramatic announcement saying that "the period of so-called surprises is at an end". That was the usual Hitlerian way of lulling European Powers into the belief that he had no further ambition to repudiate the Peace Treaty. The next sixteen months were devoted to very careful planning for another offensive. This time the prize was to be Austria with which only in July, 1936 he had concluded a pact of friendship. The details of the proposed invasion were secretly, but thoroughly, worked out and by the beginning of 1938 the stage was set for another major offensive. Only a pretext had to be found.

Before undertaking the actual offensive, Hitler set his own house in order. The German High Command did not whole-heartedly support his plan of invasion. Therefore on 4 February, 1938, he dismissed General Von Fritsch, the Chief of the Army staff and himself took over the Supreme Command of the Army. At the Foreign Office too, the moderate Baron Von Neurath was replaced by the radical Ribbentrop who believed in an aggressive foreign policy. These changes were a prelude to a spectacular action, the victim of which was to be Austria.

Nazi agitation for the overthrow of Dr. Schuschnigg, had continued for some time. It was actively supported by the Nazis in Germany and there was a danger that the relations between the two countries might once again be estranged. Therefore, to settle mutual differences Hitler invited Schuschnigg to a meeting at Berchtesgaden on 12 February. Hitler persuaded Schuschnigg to reorganize his Government and to satisfy Nazi aspirations and he was also forced to include several Nazis in it. Dr. Seyss Inquart,

a leading Nazi and a staunch supporter of the Anschluss, was appointed Minister of the Interior. Nazi activities within the framework of the constitution were legalized. Schuschnigg expected that with these concessions the Nazis would be satisfied and there would be an end to the Nazi agitation. He had trust in Hitler's sincerity when he was assured by him that after the reorganization of the government there would be no further trouble by the Nazis. He was soon disillusioned. On 21 February there were violent Nazi demonstrations in several Austrian towns and consequently Nazi meetings were banned. The ban had no effect whatever on the tempo of the agitation and on 24th there was severe rioting in Graz where the Nazi mob hoisted the 'Swastika', the German flag, on the municipal buildings and refused to listen to Dr. Schuschnigg's speech appealing to the people to preserve the independence of Austria. Nazi opposition to Schuschnigg's government continued to mount. In order to assess the wishes of the people over the issue of union with Germany, Schuschnigg proposed on 9 March, to hold a plebiscite. Hitler doubted if the vote would go in favour of the Anschluss, as a majority of the Austrians would have preferred to uphold the sovereignty of Austria in view of the Nazi atrocities. He did not want to take any risk. Therefore he sent an ultimatum to Schuschnigg and demanded the postponement of the proposed plebiscite. Schuschnigg was bullied into accepting the demand under threat of dire consequences and the plebiscite was postponed.

On 11 March another ultimatum was sent to Schuschnigg demanding his immediate resignation in favour of Seyss Inquart. Schuschnigg could have resisted the German pressure tactics, but only at the cost of a war with Germany. He did not want bloodshed and therefore he preferred to resign. By the midnight of 11 and 12 March, the German troops were already on their way to Vienna while the rest of Europe slept. The Austrians offered hardly any resistance and Vienna fell to the Nazi invaders. The rape of Austria was complete and Hitler proclaimed a Union of Austria with Germany. The period of "so-called surprises" was not at an end yet. Just as almost 67 years ago Bismarck had Prussianized Germany, Hitler now Germanized Austria. The Government was modelled on the Nazi pattern and persecution of the Jews and other hostile elements was carried out with the usual Nazi thoroughness.

To give naked aggression against a weak and helpless neighbour the cloak of legal sanction Hitler held a plebiscite in Austria on 10 April and over 99 per cent people voted in favour of the Union.

It cannot be denied that the Union brought about immense economic benefits to both countries. Their trade multiplied and industries developed by leaps and bounds. But the manner in which the Union was achieved was highly immoral. Hitler succeeded in striking one more nail into the coffin of the Treaty of Versailles while a bewildered world gazed, but took no military action and acquiesced in the *fait accompli*.

Anglo-Italian Agreement (April, 1938). Hitler expected an unfavourable, nay, even a hostile reaction in Italy to his planned invasion of Austria. Therefore he took Mussolini into confidence and succeeded in getting his approval and consent for his nefarious action. After the invasion there was a popular outburst of indignation at the rape of Austria and Mussolini was compelled to take some action to satisfy public feelings.

Anglo-Italian negotiations had been going on for some time in connection with the withdrawal of Italian volunteers from Spain. Mussolini had been lately smarting under the oppressive weight of Hitler's friendship and was anxious to achieve a spectacular diplomatic victory. He approached Great Britain afresh for a new pact of friendship. The Italian bid caused a cabinet crisis in Great Britain. Chamberlain, the Prime Minister, was eager to befriend Italy and to settle all outstanding disputes with her. Eden, the Foreign Minister, insisted that the withdrawal of Italian volunteers from Spain must precede all further negotiations; he would have no faith in the words of Mussolini who had not honoured the "Gentleman's Agreement" of January, 1937. Italian volunteers were still fighting in Spain. Chamberlain over-ruled Eden's objection. Eden tendered his resignation on 20 February, 1938, as he was not prepared to carry on any parleys with the insincere Italians. Moreover there was a violent campaign for his resignation in the Italian press. If negotiations were to succeed evidently Eden was not the man to bring them to fruition. Therefore Chamberlain sacrificed Eden. After German annexation of Austria, Mussolini intensified his efforts to conclude an alliance with Great Britain. On 16 April an Anglo-Italian Pact was signed. Great Britain recognized Italian conquest of

Abyssinia, and promised to persuade other members of the League to do likewise. Italy assured Great Britain that Italian volunteers in Spain would be withdrawn. Both countries also agreed to respect each other's interests in the Near East and the Red Sea. The Treaty was to be ratified as soon as the Spanish affair was amicably settled. The pact was ratified in November though Italy never fulfilled her obligations in respect of the Spanish Civil War, as Great Britain was anxious to terminate Italian hostility in the Mediterranean. The Pact did not appreciably improve relations between the two countries, nor did it create an Italian rupture with Germany. The Italo-German alliance continued in spite of the German aggression in Austria. Its solidarity was further strengthened by Hitler's visit to Rome on 7 May. He was welcomed most enthusiastically by Mussolini.

The Czech Crisis (1938). The annexation of Austria without much opposition further whetted Hitler's appetite. There were still large territories peopled by the Germans outside the Reich which had to be united to the Fatherland. His mission of establishing a Greater Germany comprising all the German people was only half-fulfilled.

The multi-racial State of Czechoslovakia with a large German minority was to be his next victim. The mutual rivalries of Czechs, Germans, Slovaks, Ruthenians, Magyars, and Poles provided a very suitable field for Hitler's aggressive designs. Hitler began to espouse the cause of the German minority in the Sudeten districts of Czechoslovakia. Sudetenland, an area rich in minerals, was part of the old Austro-Hungarian empire. Economically, it had always been linked with Bohemia. At the Peace Conference, after long discussions it was assigned to Czechoslovakia not only for economic reasons, but also to provide her a scientific frontier. The only other country which could claim it was Germany, but as she was the principal aggressor in the First World War she could not be rewarded with a territory which was not hers before the War.

Hitler's avowed aim was to annex to Germany all territories predominantly peopled by the Germans. In pursuance of this policy he encouraged the growth and rise of the Nazi party in Sudetenland under the leadership of Henlein. The incessant Nazi propaganda there created a very inflammable situation. Czechoslovakia was in treaty alliance with Russia and France.

She was a member of the Little Entente (see p. 455). Great Britain, as a friend of France, was interested in maintaining the independence and integrity of Czechoslovakia. Therefore any attempt by Hitler to overrun Sudetenland was likely to cause a European conflict and "Czechoslovakia might well be the Serbia of a coming struggle".

However Hitler was determined to achieve his objective and German discontent with the Czechoslovakian government gave him a suitable pretext. On 20 February, 1938, in a speech, he offered protection to all German minorities outside the Reich. Emboldened by Hitler's promises of help, Sudeten Germans intensified their anti-Government agitation. As there was a possibility of German intervention in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia, Hodza, the Czech Prime Minister warned Germany that the Government was determined to protect the country against foreign aggression. The annexation of Austria by Germany on 12 March materially worsened the situation in Czechoslovakia. She was now surrounded on three sides by a hostile Germany. Though Hitler professed his friendship to her in a speech on 14 March, the Government felt extremely nervous. The French and Russian Governments simultaneously assured her that they would honour their treaty obligations towards her.

Hitler's assurance was a mere bluff. Rumours of concentration of German troops on the frontier caused much misgiving in Czechoslovakia and resulted in a Cabinet crisis. The German "Activists" resigned from the Government. In order to satisfy the grievances of the minorities, Hodza proposed to introduce a "Nationality Statute". Henlein was not satisfied with its provisions and on 24 April submitted the so-called "Carlsbad Programme" embodying eight demands. He demanded equality between the Germans and Czechs; demarcation of German majority areas and full autonomy for the Germans there. He claimed freedom for the Germans to proclaim their German nationality and to profess the Nazi political philosophy. He also demanded a revision of the Czech foreign policy in favour of Germany. The government rejected these demands. Thereupon Sudeten agitation increased and there was widespread disorder in the country. In May, German troops were mobilized on the frontier and Czechoslovakia also retaliated by ordering partial mobilization. A war between the two countries seemed almost certain. But Great Britain and

France took a strong stand and warned Germany to leave Czechoslovakia alone. Hitler held back and the crisis blew over.

The firmness displayed by Britain and France had no doubt temporarily thwarted Hitler, but it did not solve the minority problem in Czechoslovakia. Europe was faced by another crisis in August. Negotiations between the Sudeten leaders and the Government over the proposed Nationality Statute broke down. Lest renewed German agitation might lead to another crisis Great Britain offered the services of Lord Runciman as a mediator between the Government and the Sudetens. He arrived in Prague on 3 August. Meanwhile German military preparations in the Rhineland and Hitler's visit to the western front ostensibly to stop France from interfering in the Czech-German dispute alarmed Great Britain and France. The former alerted the navy to hold itself in readiness for any eventuality. While the mediator was grappling with the minority problem in Czechoslovakia, Henlein paid a visit to Hitler on 1 September. On his return, the Sudeten agitation increased and there were demonstrations and rioting in several towns. In the midst of this violence Dr. Benes, the Czech President, issued a revised plan of the Nationality Statute on 6 September, to satisfy the minorities. While it was under discussion a Sudeten deputy was manhandled at Moravska Ostrava on 7 September by Czech policemen. This incident led to Sudeten-Government clashes and Henlein rejected the new plan. Lord Runciman also gave up all attempts at mediation.

The situation in Czechoslovakia was further complicated by Hitler's speech at a party rally at Nuremberg on 12 September. He demanded the right of self-determination for Sudeten Germans. His support of the Sudetens added more fuel to the fire and caused widespread disorder. The Government had to impose martial law to control the situation. Henlein fled to Germany on 15 September to escape arrest. All hopes of a settlement also vanished. Deteriorating internal conditions and the threat of German intervention alarmed the statesmen of Europe. Chamberlain paid a hurried visit to Berchtesgaden on 15 September to meet Hitler and to seek his co-operation in solving the Czech crisis. Hitler demanded the annexation of German territories on the basis of self-determination. Chamberlain did not commit himself and returned to London. He then invited

Daladier, the French Prime Minister and Bonnet, the French Foreign Minister, to London. In view of the mounting tension, they reluctantly decided to recommend to the Czech government to accept Hitler's demand. Chamberlain characterized the decision as "a drastic but necessary operation" to solve the Czech crisis, while the French called it "a shameful necessity".

The Hodza government demurred and suggested that the Czech-German dispute might be submitted for arbitration. This proposal was rejected by Great Britain and France as it was not likely to be accepted by Hitler. Czechoslovakia had no option and, on 21 September, yielded to Hitler's threat. Hodza resigned in disgust on 22 September and was succeeded by General Sirovy.

The Czech crisis did not end yet. Poland and Hungary also decided to fish in the troubled waters of Czech politics and demanded Teschen and Ruthenia respectively. Their representatives met Hitler and persuaded him to support their demand. The situation once again became critical. Chamberlain made a second bid to resolve the crisis and met Hitler at Godesberg on 22 and 23 September. Hitler was not in a conciliatory mood. He supported the Polish and Hungarian claims and made further demands on Czechoslovakia. He wanted the immediate surrender of all predominantly German areas with fortifications and commercial installations intact and a plebiscite in German minority districts under German-Czech supervision.

Chamberlain rejected these demands and the talks broke down. The international situation was by now very tense and a war seemed unavoidable. There was once more intense diplomatic activity and Chamberlain invited Daladier and Bonnet to London on 26 September. They decided to support Czechoslovakia against Hitler's aggression. Meanwhile President Roosevelt appealed to Hitler advising him moderation. He also asked Mussolini to plead with Hitler. Mussolini's request and British and French military preparations had the desired effect and Hitler agreed to meet the representatives of Great Britain, France and Italy at Munich on 29 September.

The Munich Pact (29 September, 1938). Hitler and Ribbentrop met Chamberlain, Daladier, and Count Ciano of Italy at Munich in a final attempt to settle the German-Czech dispute. Russia and Czechoslovakia were not invited to the

Conference. Hitler assured the assembled statesmen that Sudetenland was his last territorial demand. An agreement was consequently reached on the basis of the following terms: firstly, predominantly German areas were to be evacuated by Czechoslovakia, and ceded to Germany between 1 and 10 October; secondly, an international commission of the representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany and Czechoslovakia was to determine the plebiscite areas. Great Britain and France agreed to guarantee the new boundaries of Czechoslovakia. An Anglo-German declaration renouncing war to settle disputes was also signed.

The Czech government had no alternative but to comply with the terms of the Munich Agreement. Poland and Hungary also claimed their pound of flesh and the former occupied Teschen on 2 October and the latter got parts of Slovakia and Ruthenia.

The dismemberment of Czechoslovakia was reminiscent of the partitions of Poland in the 18th century. Dr. Benes, the Czech President, once an ardent supporter of the League of Nations was thoroughly disillusioned. He resigned and fled the country on 5 October and was succeeded by Hacha. On 6 October Slovakia was granted autonomy.

The Munich Agreement was hailed as a great triumph of Anglo-French diplomacy. Both Chamberlain and Daladier were received like heroes on their return from Munich. They had saved Europe from the jaws of an almost certain war.

Commenting on the Munich Pact the *Times* of London wrote: "No conqueror returning from a victory on the battlefield has come home adorned with nobler laurels than Mr. Chamberlain from Munich yesterday." Similar tributes were paid to Daladier in the French Press. The two Prime Ministers knew that their countries were not yet prepared to cross swords with Hitler who had steadily built up his armed might, while they had wasted time on negotiating pacts with him and Italy. Under the circumstances there was no alternative for them but to appease Hitler. There was another side of the picture. In several quarters there was bitter criticism of the policy of appeasement. The Western democracies abandoned a democratic country to the aggression of a totalitarian State whose ambition knew no bounds and whose past deeds did not inspire any confidence in her leader's promises. Czechoslovakia was deserted by France, Russia and her other allies of the

Little Entente to her doom in the hour of her greatest need. If Great Britain and France had maintained the same firm attitude that they had in May, Czechoslovakia might have been saved from being a victim of sheer naked aggression.

As future events turned out to be, Hitler did not keep his word, and a world war could not be avoided. The Munich Pact only temporarily postponed it. In another respect too, the Munich Agreement had disastrous results. Since Russia was not invited to the Munich Conference, she felt slighted and was extremely bitter with the French and consequently repudiated the Franco-Soviet Alliance of 1935. Her action meant the end of the system of security built up by France in the last two decades. The acquiescence of Great Britain and France in Hitler's aggression brought Europe nearer the brink of another great catastrophe.

The Annexation of Czechoslovakia (15 March, 1939). The era of surprises did not end even with the Munich Agreement and the consequent dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. Chamberlain was essentially a peace loving Prime Minister and was prepared to make the utmost sacrifice to maintain peace. He believed that once Hitler's ambition to redress the wrongs done by the Peace Settlement was satisfied, he would abandon his expansionist and aggressive designs. But he had made a wrong assessment of the Fuhrer's mind.

Throughout the winter of 1938, Hitler consolidated his territorial gains, military preparations were intensified and the stage was again set for another major offensive.

The internal troubles in Czechoslovakia continued. The federal constitution did not function smoothly in spite of the fact that Slovakia and Ruthenia had been granted full autonomy. In both units a separatist movement continued. To aggravate the situation foreign governments, including Germany, encouraged it. Tiso, the Slovak premier, insisted on pursuing an entirely independent foreign policy. The quarrel between him and the central government at Prague reached a crisis on 9 March when he refused to owe his loyalty to it and demanded an independent Slovak army. He was already secretly in league with the German leaders. President Hacha thereupon dismissed him and his colleagues and proclaimed martial law in major towns of Slovakia. Sidov was appointed the new Slovak Premier on 11 March and on his assurance of loyalty, the Czech troops were withdrawn.

In the meanwhile Tiso, who was under surveillance, escaped to Germany on 13 and appealed to Hitler to help the Slovak nationalist movement. German troops crossed the border and Tiso was reinstated as Slovak Premier. He proclaimed Slovakia's independence. At this critical juncture Hacha was summoned to Berlin on 15 to settle the Slovak dispute, but he was forced to sign the liquidation of Czechoslovakia. It was placed under German "protection". Simultaneously German troops moved in and occupied the country.

Hungary also took advantage of the Czech crisis and marched her troops and occupied Ruthenia without any opposition from Germany.

The final dissolution of Czechoslovakia was completed without any opposition from the Powers which signed the Munich Pact. The German annexation of Czechoslovakia was a departure from the policy hitherto pursued by Hitler. So far he had confined his expansionist designs to predominantly German areas, but his latest annexation brought under him a very large area of non-German territory and population. This new trend in his foreign policy was fraught with very serious potentialities of further aggression against non-German peoples.

Germany annexes Memel from Lithuania (23 March, 1939). Pro-Nazi agitation in Memel had been mounting lately. Lest the story of the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia might be repeated, the Lithuanian government surrendered Memel to Germany on 23 March. The acquisition of this port by Germany left Lithuania entirely at her mercy.

The Last Phase—Hitler's demand on Poland (March-September 1939). The German annexation of Czechoslovakia and Memel caused great anxiety in Poland. She had practically been surrounded on three sides by Germany and was going to be the next victim of Hitler's ambition. On 21 March Germany proposed to Poland that Danzig, which was essentially a German town, should be returned to her and that Germany should be given a passage through the "corridor" to connect East Prussia with the mainland. In return Hitler promised to recognize Polish economic rights and to keep Danzig as a free port. He also guaranteed the Polish-German frontier and offered to conclude a non-aggression treaty for 25 years. Already Poland and Germany had signed a non-aggression Pact for ten years in 1934. So the

last term had no additional significance. Poland rejected these demands and made counter proposals. She proposed that the free status of Danzig should be jointly guaranteed by Poland and Germany and that transit facilities to Germany through the corridor might be granted provided the latter was prepared to respect the sovereignty of Poland in the "belt".

As the crisis in Poland was deepening Britain and France assured all support to Poland. Consequently, on 6 April an Anglo-Polish Pact of mutual assistance was signed and Great Britain offered all support "in the event of any action which clearly threatened Polish independence and which the Polish government accordingly considered vital to resist with their national forces".

In the meanwhile Mussolini further complicated the international situation. On 7 April, without any provocation, Italian troops invaded Albania and conquered it despite the terms of the Anglo-Italian Pact of 1938, by which she had promised not to disturb the *status quo* in the Mediterranean.

The aggressive attitude of the two dictators caused a very serious situation in Europe and President Roosevelt in a demarche appealed to Hitler and Mussolini to desist from violence and to guarantee the independence and integrity of the nations of Europe. Both treated the request with scorn. On 28 April, in his speech to the Reichstag, Hitler replied to the appeal of the United States President. He listed his grievances against European Powers and complained that by offering assistance to Poland, Great Britain was trying to encircle Germany. He also affirmed that Germany had no aggressive designs. At the same time he repudiated the German-Polish Pact of 1934, since Poland had sought an alliance with Great Britain and France ostensibly against Germany. He also denounced the Anglo-German Naval Pact (1935) as it was incompatible with the new British programme of rearmament and the network of alliances made by Great Britain. Immediately after the Italian conquest of Albania, Great Britain had concluded an alliance with Greece and Rumania on 13 April. Hitler's next move was directed against the Baltic and Scandinavian States. He offered non-aggression pacts to them. While Denmark, Estonia and Latvia accepted the offer Sweden, Norway and Finland refused it. Throughout May there was intense diplomatic activity between Great Britain, France and Soviet Russia and it was expected that a tripartite agreement might be

concluded in view of the growing Nazi menace. Soviet Russia insisted that in the proposed "Peace Front" the Baltic States and Finland must also be included and that they should allow Russia facilities in case a war broke out. The Baltic States were not agreeable to the Soviet request but the negotiations among the three countries continued. British and French military missions arrived in Moscow on 12 August and it seemed that an agreement had after all been reached.

Meanwhile the Danzig-Polish crisis was developing fast. The Nazi party in Danzig won the election and on 24 August its leader Forster was proclaimed "Supreme Head" of the Danzig Free State. While negotiations between Great Britain, France and Russia were continuing, Hitler sprang another surprise. Secret talks had been going on for some time between Germany and Soviet Russia and on 23 August a Russo-German commercial treaty was signed. It was followed by a Russo-German non-aggression Pact the next day. Ribbentrop specially went to Moscow to sign it. It proposed that both countries should remain neutral if either of them was attacked by a third Power and that each party should abstain from attacking the other. This Pact meant the end of the Anti-Comintern Pact.

Great Britain, as a counter measure, concluded the Anglo-Polish Pact of mutual assistance. The British Parliament granted almost dictatorial powers to the government to meet any emergency. President Roosevelt again intervened and appealed to King Victor Emmanuel of Italy, Hitler and President Moscicki of Poland to settle the Polish-German dispute by conciliation or arbitration. While Poland was willing, both Italy and Germany ignored the American request. Appeals by Great Britain and France also had no effect on Hitler. He was determined to achieve his objective at all costs and was not amenable to reason, and on 29 August he repeated his demands on Poland, which the latter rejected.

On the 31 immediately after the Russo-German Pact had been ratified by Russia, Hitler ordered the German forces to be ready to march into Poland. As Poland did not comply with his demands Hitler declared war on her on 1 September. Italy remained neutral presumably to facilitate passage of war material and other goods into Germany. On 2 September Italy proposed a Five Power Conference but Great Britain insisted that German with-

SECOND GREAT WAR IN EUROPE

GERMAN CONQUESTS
STATES UNDER
GERMAN CONTROL

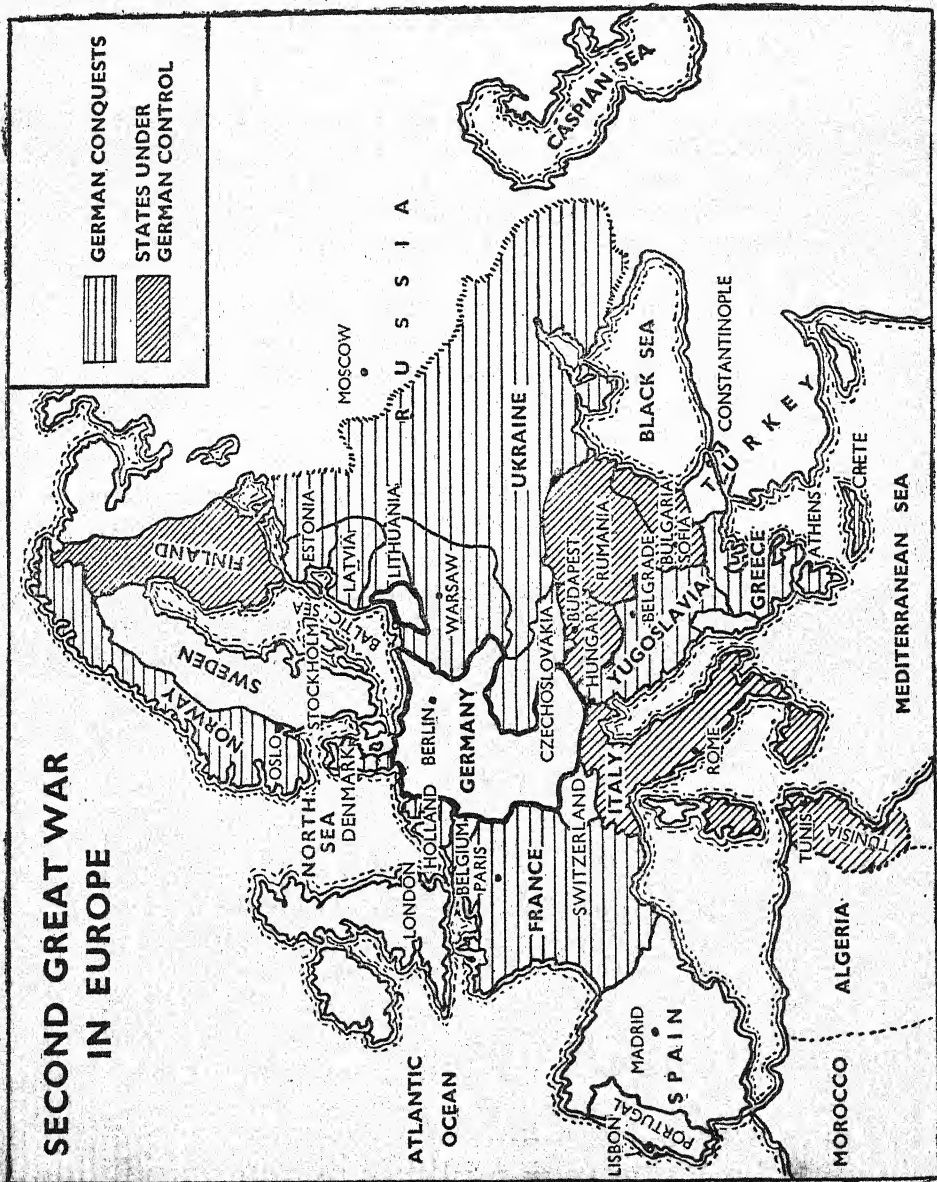


Fig. 15

drawal from the Polish soil must precede any such meeting. Since Hitler refused to withdraw, Great Britain and France declared war on Germany on 3 September.

The war soon enveloped the whole world and dragged on with intense ferocity for six long years, causing destruction on an unimaginably large scale and bringing untold misery and hardship to millions of people.

In conclusion we shall attempt to assess the responsibility of the various Powers for the out-break of the war.

Germany was no doubt the principal aggressor once again but other Powers too could not escape their share of the blame.

It cannot be denied that the Paris Peace Settlement was most unfair to a democratic republican Germany. The fact that it was a dictated peace was largely responsible for the German determination to repudiate it. The stiff attitude of the Allies against any talk of revising it further embittered the Germans.

The foreign policy of France between the two world wars was primarily concerned with the establishment of a system of collective security against possible German aggression. She concluded a network of pacts—a pact with Belgium, with Poland, and the States of the Little Entente and finally with Soviet Russia (see p.453)—to encircle Germany and to keep her weak for ever. These security pacts irritated Hitler and goaded him to defy the Treaty of Versailles.

The foreign policy of England was rather timid and irresolute particularly between 1933 and 1936. On the one hand she condemned the German violation of the disarmament clauses, yet on the other she concluded the Anglo-German Naval Pact (1935).

The Allies looked on with equanimity at the rearmament of Germany. They woke up too late. If, at the initial stages, when Hitler violated the disarmament and demilitarization clauses in 1935 and 1936 respectively, Great Britain and France had taken a firm and joint stand and used military might, the Second World War could have been avoided. Their acquiescence in the rearmament of Germany was absolutely unjustified, particularly when in 1936, the combined Anglo-French armed strength was far superior to that of Germany. The threat of armed action would have contained Hitler. Emboldened by the British indifference Hitler acted with great speed and by 1938 he had built up a formidable striking power and almost dictated his terms

to other countries. His annexation of Austria and Czechoslovakia gave a rude shock to the Western democracies. The Munich Pact (1938) certainly gave Great Britain and France valuable time in which to rearm themselves. By the spring of 1939 they had realized that Hitler could not be stopped by anything short of a war.

Japan and Italy were no less responsible for the outbreak of the war. Both flouted the Covenant of the League to achieve their aggressive designs against helpless and weak States.

The League of Nations which had been created to stop all future wars failed miserably to do so. In Chapter 28 we have discussed at length the causes of the decline in its prestige and power. By 1936, she had ceased exercising any influence in world affairs and when Germany violated the provisions of the Treaty she found herself unable to intervene and avert a major calamity. The Great Powers did not co-operate in achieving her noble objective.

So within 20 years of the Treaty of Versailles Europe was plunged into a disastrous world war. The collective security system of the League had failed and the nations once again faced the horrors of war on a scale which humanity had not known before.

Chapter 31

EPILOGUE

DURING THE last two centuries or so, the period covered by this book, Europe witnessed a revolutionary change in her political, social, cultural and economic life. European civilization as it developed during this period spread far and wide and considerably influenced the whole world. The process is still continuing and in many ways the political and economic forces which originated in Europe are spreading to all the continents. It would therefore be interesting to recapitulate the achievements and failures of European civilization and the latest trends in European history, as they are likely to mould the future of mankind.

A. POLITICAL FORCES

At the beginning of this period, all European States had an absolute system of Government. Even in England, the mother of democracies, belief still persisted in the Divine Right of Kings. The monarch's will was the law. The ministers were responsible to him and the judges too were subservient to his authority. Individual citizens exercised as much liberty as their autocratic masters were pleased to allow them. Yet even in this age of absolutism, the King's power, to some extent, was subjected to the control of the Church and the nobles, but this control too depended upon the personality of the ruler.

In the nineteenth century the theory of Divine Right yielded to the theory of government based on the support of the "General Will" and hereditary absolutism was gradually replaced by liberal and democratic governments. There were several forces which brought about this change.

Firstly, education had a deep impact on the minds of the people. The more education spread, the greater was the political awakening

among the people who began to question authority. They claimed and asserted their rights and successfully challenged the theory of Divine Right and shook people's faith in it. The "Metternich System" was the last organized attempt to halt the march of liberalism and constitutionalism. In spite of its curbs on universities, teachers and students, the demand for liberal constitutions continued and finally swept away the old order in 1848 in many countries of Western and Central Europe.

The second factor which was responsible for its overthrow was the character of the monarchs. They were selfish, greedy and ignorant of the needs of the people. They identified the welfare of the State with their own interests. They made no distinction between private and State income. And instead of improving the poor economic condition of the people, they wasted money on the luxuries of brilliant courts. While millions of people starved, their dancing and feasting went on. When the people's sufferings reached a saturation point, they rose in revolt and overthrew their monarchs. This is what happened in France in 1789, and in several other European countries in 1830 and 1848, and in Russia in 1917.

Thirdly, the French Revolution of 1789, was one political event, most significant and pregnant with possibilities for the development of future political economy. While it gave a warning to the monarchs to mend their ways, it also promised hope to the down-trodden people of Europe. A starving people would always constitute a grave danger to the security of a ruler's throne.

A fourth factor was the rise of a prosperous industrial and commercial middle class as a result of the Industrial Revolution. This new class which was the standard-bearer of revolt against the old order was responsible also for political, social, economic, cultural and scientific progress.

Thus the spread of education and the economic prosperity of an enlightened society let loose a "democratic" force, a force which made people demand their rights as against absolute monarchs. This struggle was to determine whether sovereignty lay with the King or the people; it finally resulted in a victory for the people.

Rousseau's powerful writings gave a new conception of sovereignty to the people. The French inspired and influenced by him, measured their strength against Louis XVI and his absolutism and emerged victorious. They spread widely the

message of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Western Europe scored a march over Eastern Europe in overthrowing absolutism. With the growth of political and economic consciousness in the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century, even in Central Europe absolutism was overthrown.

On the ruins of hereditary absolutism, there sprang up two political philosophies namely, democracy and totalitarianism. The former was developed and nurtured in England and later spread to other parts of Europe and the world. Democracy is based on the conception that the State exists for the individual, and he has a right to enjoy liberty and justice. It guarantees freedom of speech, expression and belief and is in turn influenced by public opinion. It abhors revolution and violence as means to overthrow government. It believes in evolution and gives full freedom to a nation to develop along its own genius. Consequently in England and some other countries it has established constitutional monarchy, in others democratic republics either Parliamentary or Presidential. The democratic trend has widely influenced the political life of a number of countries outside Europe. Canada, the U.S.A., South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India, and a host of other nations have adopted a democratic way of life and government.

Democracy in the past as well as in the present has received and perhaps in future too will receive a serious challenge from Dictatorship, whether it is the dictatorship of the Communist or of the Fascist variety.

During the 19th century a new politico-socio-cum-economic force was let loose by Karl Marx (1818-83) and Friedrich Engels (1820-95), two German political philosophers who expounded a "new philosophy of history, a new programme of revolutionary reforms and a new call for International action". This was popularly known as Socialism. It was manifestly hostile to individualism. It was a direct result of social and economic problems created by the Industrial Revolution. Marx denounced the exploitation of the working class by the industrialists and exhorted the former to assert their rights and rise against the capitalist class. In his famous *Communist Manifesto* (1848) he observed that, "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggle". Again, he incited the workers to claim their rights, and said, "The workers have nothing to lose, but their

chains. They have a world to win. Workers of all lands unite." In pursuance of this revolutionary philosophy the First, Second and Third Internationals were organized to spread the gospel of Socialism.

After the Revolution of 1848, Socialism made some progress, but it was not till the last quarter of the 19th century that Socialism became a live force in European politics. France was most intensely affected by it. In other countries it did not exercise much influence, though Socialist parties sprang up in most countries. The First World War and the debacle of Tsarist Russia in 1916-17, provided the opportunity to the Socialists to grasp political power and to establish a Socialist State. Lenin fully exploited chaotic conditions and in October, 1917, the Bolshevik Revolution overthrew the old order in Russia. Since then Communism has flourished in Russia and has constituted a serious threat to many countries. It has established the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and has held out great hopes to the poor classes for improvement of their economic conditions. It is likely to thrive in countries where there is a vast disparity between the various strata of society. It also benefits by wars which bring untold suffering and misery to millions of people. To the downtrodden people of the world, it holds out great expectations. After the Second World War, Communism has made rapid strides and under the influence of Russia several East European countries have been converted to Communism. It has also found a foothold in other continents. The Kuomintang government in China was overthrown by the Communists and it is now the biggest and most militant Communist country in the world.

Even in non-Communist countries the Governments carried out a series of economic and social legislation to improve the condition of the people. Communism is trying to spread its tentacles far and wide and the countries which are militarily weak and economically poor are likely to offer good scope for it. Hence there is the urgent need to remove poverty, hunger and class warfare. This accounts for the liberal economic help which America and the Western Free World are extending to the poor countries of the world.

As against Communist Dictatorship the political forces have thrown to the surface another kind of totalitarian Dictatorship popularly known as Fascism. Both Communism and Fascism

exalt absolutism of the State and deny liberty and justice to the individual. Whereas the former controls all economic activities of the State, the latter allows private enterprise to supplement the public sector provided the former does not exploit the masses and works in the interest of the State.

Mussolini's Italy and Hitler's Germany were glowing examples of Fascist dictatorship. In modern times, Franco's Spain and several other European and non-European countries are influenced by Fascist ideology. There is a growing tendency in several Asian and Latin American countries where democracy did not function smoothly on account of party strife to establish Fascist States. Such States like Spain and Portugal no doubt establish law and order but at the cost of suppressing the freedom of the individual. They have a militant outlook and so constitute a threat to world peace.

B. RISE OF NATIONALISM

The French Revolution of 1789 gave rise to an intense national movement. Throughout the 19th century the European political scene was dominated by a conflict for the establishment of Nation States. This trend led to Belgian independence and the unification of Italy and Germany. The struggle in the Balkans in the 19th century was a symptom of the national urge of the various peoples inhabiting the peninsula.

In the 20th century, the struggle continued and the subject races of the Hapsburg and Ottoman empires realized the dream of national States only after the First World War.

Nationalism spread to other continents too. In the Middle East it has resulted in the rise of a Pan-Arab movement under the leadership of Egypt. In South-East Asia, nationalism swept the Indian Peninsula, Burma, Indo-China, Ceylon, etc.

Intense narrow-minded nationalism gave rise to bitter international rivalry and competition. The First World War was an outcome of the conflict of Pan-Slavism with the reactionary Hapsburg Empire. In the period 1933-39 Hitler's belief in the superiority of the German people and his nationalist ambition to unite all Germans under his banner led to the Second World War.

C. SOCIAL CHANGES AND TRENDS

At the beginning of the period of our study society was largely feudal and the people were divided into privileged and under-privileged classes. However, the French Revolution dealt a severe blow to the old social order and initiated an era of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity.

Distinctions between the privileged and underprivileged were minimized. Yet inter-class warfare went on. It merely took another shape. The struggle between Capital and Labour, replaced the conflict between landlords and peasants. The struggle is still continuing and it is problematic whether it will ever be possible to remove all class distinctions and establish a classless society.

With the rise of Socialism, the civilized countries of the world have tried to narrow down the differences between the 'haves' and 'have-nots'. But there are big regions of the world where social distinctions are still very great. And as long as they exist, the class struggle will continue. In this connection it would not be out of place to refer to the *Apartheid* policy of the Union of South Africa. It is based on the superiority of one class, the "Whites" over the others, the "coloured". The World Organization has unequivocally condemned this policy but the end of it is not in sight yet.

In this process of levelling up and levelling down of society, aristocracy has suffered the most. In Communist countries it has been completely eliminated, in others it has lost heavily in terms of wealth and social status. Some big nobles in Western Europe find it hard to maintain their castles and have either donated them to the State or have thrown them open to the public as a means to supplement their income.

The middle classes on account of the Industrial Revolution have gained considerably. In most non-Communist countries they form the back bone of social, political and economic life.

The masses have benefited the most. Serfdom and slavery have been abolished, the dignity of man has been recognized and even the poorest man is ensured a better treatment. Class distinctions tend largely to be eliminated and social alliances between all sections of society are gaining ground. The exclusiveness of aristocracy has by and large disappeared.

D. ECONOMIC CHANGES

Society in the 18th century was primarily agricultural. But the Industrial Revolution brought about undreamt of changes in its economic structure. The bond of the lord and peasant yielded place to the relationship of the capitalist and labourer. People gave up their ancestral homes and flocked to new industrial towns where there was much greater scope for employment. The Industrial Revolution did not only provide work for millions of people, but also improved their standard of living. New scientific inventions like electricity, telegraph, railways, etc. gave a tremendous fillip to industrial development. With the growth of more and more complicated machinery, specialization became a necessity. As technical and scientific knowledge provided greater and more attractive avenues of employment, a larger and larger number of people began to pursue scientific education. By the beginning of the 20th century almost all European countries were highly industrialized and began to produce goods which were unknown to the people two centuries ago. Up to the end of the Second World War coal, electricity and oil were the chief sources of energy for industry. With the discovery of atomic energy a new power of unknown potentialities and unlimited dimensions has been placed at the disposal of mankind. If it is harnessed for peaceful economic development a very glorious future awaits the people of the world.

The Industrial Revolution was not an unmixed blessing. In its wake it brought a large number of economic and social problems and governments had to pass legislation to ameliorate the conditions of the working classes. It also created a bitter struggle between Capital and Labour and gave rise to the new philosophy of Socialism. Karl Marx, its greatest exponent, engendered a dynamic force which exercised a tremendous influence on the economic life of the people (see p. 541). The gospel of Socialism has been spreading not only in Europe ever since the First World War, but to other continents also. Its expansion has divided the world into two blocs the Communists and non-Communists and a cold war between them threatens to disturb the security of the world.

With the rise of Socialism workers have also organized themselves into trade unions to demand a better deal from their employers and to provide more efficient and skilful artisans.

In order to ensure a planned economic and industrial development, governments in most non-communist countries have appropriated to themselves vast powers and many industries are by and large controlled by them. This new trend in these countries in favour of nationalization poses a serious challenge to the hitherto unrestricted scope of the private sector.

E. CULTURAL EFFECTS

European civilization had a deep impact on other countries. America was completely Westernized in dress, language, religion, manner of living etc. The old civilizations of the East also felt its influence and several Asian and African countries have adopted the Western style of living. In Africa, which was once called the "Dark Continent", European civilization has made vast progress and several African countries have adopted Christianity and have imbibed Western culture, in varying degrees.

European civilization has carried in its wake the rich heritage of intellectual and industrial revolutions. European Literature, Art, Architecture and Scientific progress have deeply influenced the rest of the world. The age of steel and steam has yielded place to the Nuclear Age of Sputniks and Missiles. Scientific progress continues. But it is yet to be seen if it would be utilized for providing more comfort and greater security against poverty and disease or whether it is going to lead to war on a scale which might mean the destruction of mankind.

F. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

In international affairs, this period witnessed colonial wars and the rise of vast European empires overseas. This rivalry for the acquisition of colonies was a great cause of international strife. But after the First World War a new and very healthy trend was established. The victors were not allowed to annex the colonies of the vanquished. Instead they were handed over to the League of Nations which assigned them to the Great Powers to be governed as "mandates" under its control and supervision. However colonialism of the victorious allies continued. But the rise of nationalism in Asia and Africa has seriously challenged it in recent

times. The conflict between the two is the cause of a very serious threat to the peace of the world.

Another important development during this period was the emergence of a European "concert", which aimed at solving international conflicts by peaceful means. The Holy Alliance and the various Congresses held in the 19th century were examples of an experiment in solving European conflicts by co-operative effort. They failed to avert wars because international jealousies were too deep rooted for them. After the First World War a League of Nations was established and the European concert was replaced by a "world concert". The League also failed to solve the problem of disarmament and unhealthy competition in building up the armed might of the nations continued with disastrous results and led to the Second World War. This dangerous race for armaments goes on and is a cause of grave concern to the peace loving peoples of the world. After the Second World War a bolder and stronger International "concert", the U.N.O. came into being. Yet strife and distrust between nations persist and the world is witnessing a "cold war" between the Free World and the Communist Bloc.

The peace of the world hangs by a slender thread. It is threatened most gravely by a race for nuclear armaments. The atom bombs which completely ruined Hiroshima and Nagasaki pale into insignificance before the latest nuclear weapons which scientists have placed at the disposal of politicians. Nuclear test explosions conducted in an attempt to find more and more deadly weapons have poisoned the atmosphere and radio-active fall-out might cause the destruction of mankind even without a war. If the present disarmament talks also break down like they did in 1933, and a war breaks out the hydrogen bomb, inter-continental ballistic missiles and other deadly nuclear warheads would annihilate the whole world in a short time. Another factor which threatens international peace is the danger from regional pacts and counter-pacts. "NATO", "SEATO" and the Warsaw Pact have divided a considerable part of the world into two blocs the so-called "Free World" and the Communist Bloc.

However the recent emergence of a third bloc, namely the "neutrals", consisting mostly of Afro-Asian countries holds out a ray of hope in mobilizing world opinion in favour of peace and is attempting to strike a balance between the rival ambitions of the

first two blocs. The hopes of mankind are focussed on the United Nations Organization. If it also fails like the old League of Nations, it would be a major calamity.

The experiment in "collective security" initiated at the Peace Conference at Versailles did not fulfil its expectations. Let us hope that the second experiment initiated by the Atlantic Charter and leading to the establishment of the U.N.O. would be more successful. The only answer to international strife is One World Government under the aegis of the U.N.O.

Appendix

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

THE HAPSBURGS

(Austria)

Ferdinand III

Emperor
(1637-1657)

Leopold I

Emperor
(1658-1705)

Joseph I

Emperor
(1705-1711)

Maria Josephine

m. Augustus of Saxony
King of Poland as
Augustus III

Maria Amelia

m. Charles Albert
of Bavaria

Emperor as Charles VII

(1742-1745)

Charles VI

Emperor
(1711-1740)

Maria Theresa

m. Francis Stephen of Lorraine & Tuscany

Emperor as
Francis I

(1745-1765)

Joseph II

Emperor
(1765-1790)

Leopold II

Emperor
(1790-1792)

Francis II

Emperor
(1792-1806)

Emperor of Austria as
Francis I

(1804-1835)

Marie Antoinette

m. Louis XVI
King of France

Ferdinand I

Emperor of Austria
(1835-1848)

Francis Joseph

Emperor of Austria
(1848-1916)

Francis

Maximilian

Emperor of Mexico
(1864-1867)

Charles Louis

Franz Ferdinand

d. 1914

Otto

Charles (or Karl)

Emperor of Austria (1916-1918)

THE HAPSBURG

(Spain)
Philip III
King of Spain
(1598-1621)

Philip IV
King of Spain
(1621-1665)

Maria m. Ferdinand III
Emperor (1637-1657)

Louis XIII m. Anne of Austria
King of France

Louis XIV m. Maria Theresa

Louis Dauphin

Louis
Duke of Burgundy
(1700-1746)

Louis XV

Charles II
King of Spain
(1665-1700)

Margaret Theresa m. Leopold I m. Eleanor of Neuburg

Charles VI
Emperor
(1711-1740)

Maria Theresa
m. Francis
Stephen
(Emperor as Francis I)
(1745-1765)

Maria Antonia
m. Elector of Bavaria

Joseph Ferdinand
Electoral Prince
of Bavaria

Maria Josephine
m. Augustus of Saxony
King of Poland as
Augustus III

Maria Amelia
m. Charles Albert of
Bavaria
Emperor as
Charles VII
(1742-1745)

THE BOURBONS

(In France, Spain and Naples)

Louis XIII
King of France
(1610-1643)

Louis XIV
King of France
(1643-1715)

Louis Dauphin

Louis
Duke of Burgundy

Louis XV
King of France
(1715-1774)

Louis Dauphin

Louis XVI
King of France
(1774-1792)

Louis Dauphin
(Commonly known as
Louis XVII but
never reigned)

Charles X
King of France
(1824-1830)

Charles
Duke of Berry

Henry
Count of Chambord

Louis XVIII
King of France
(1814-1824)

Philip V
King of Spain
(1700-1724
& 1724-1746)

Ferdinand VI
King of Spain
(1746-1759)

Charles III
King of Naples
King of Spain (1759-1788)

Charles IV
King of Spain
(1788-1808)

Ferdinand VII
King of Spain
(1814-1833)

Isabella II
Queen of Spain
(1833-1868)

Alfonso XII
King of Spain
(1874-1885)

Alfonso XIII
King of Spain
(1886-1931)

Philip
Duke of Orleans

Philip
Duke of Orleans
(Regent)

Louis
Duke of Orleans

Louis Philippe
Duke of Orleans

Louis Philippe
Duke of Orleans

Louis Philippe
King of the French
(1830-1848)

Ferdinand

Louis Philippe
(Count of Paris)

Ferdinand IV
King of Naples
(1759-1825)
(called Ferdinand I
King of the Two
Sicilies after 1815)

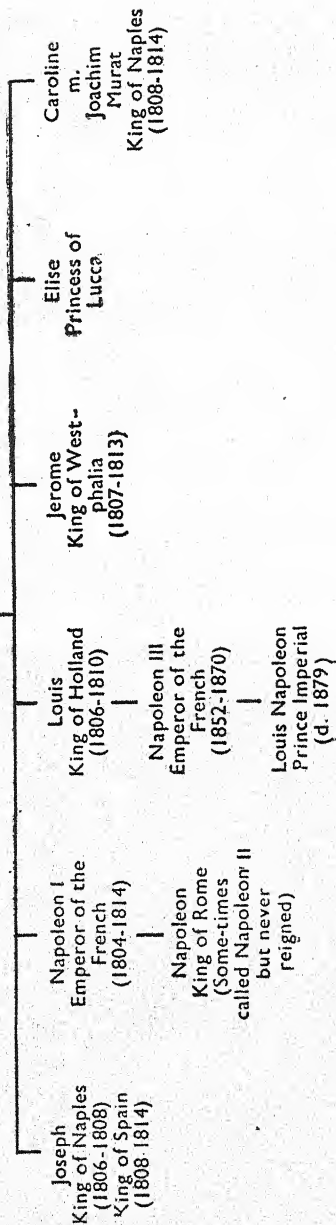
Francis I
King of the Two Sicilies
(1825-1830)

Ferdinand II
King of the Two Sicilies
(1830-1859)

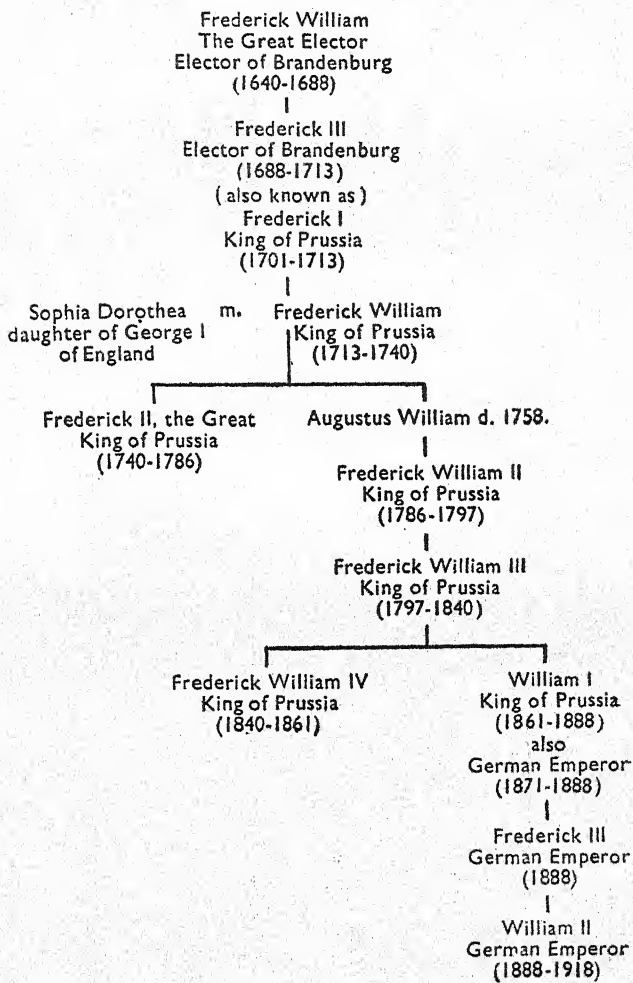
Francis II,
King of the Two Sicilies
(1859-1860)

THE BONAPARTES

Charles Bonaparte

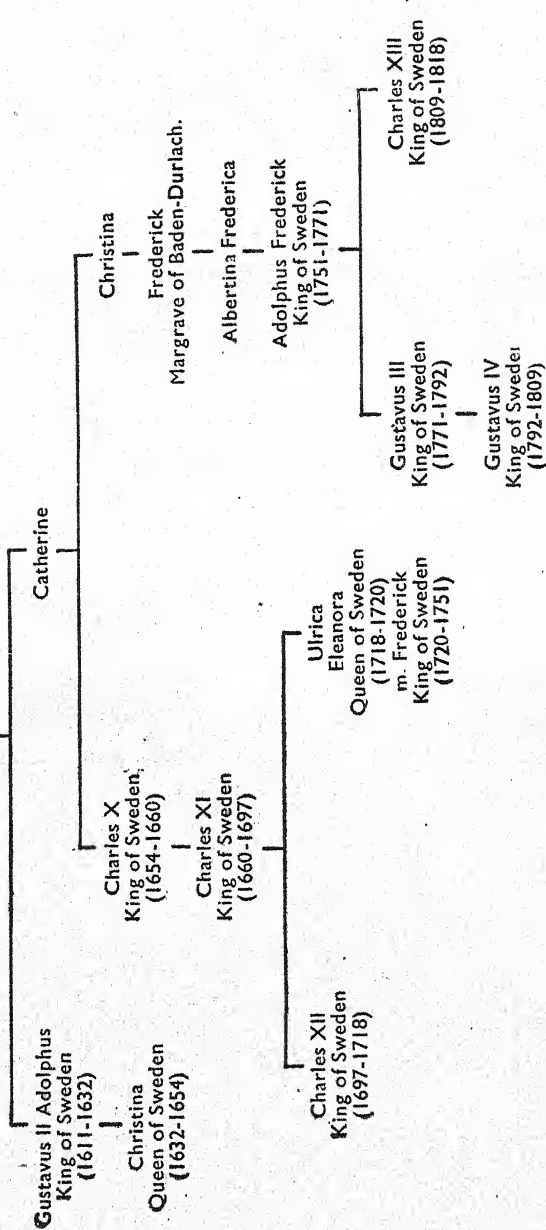


THE HOHENZOLLERNS
(Brandenburg-Prussia-Germany)



THE VASAS

Charles IX
King of Sweden
(1604-1611)



THE ROMANOFFS

(Russia)

Michael

Tsar

(1613-1645)

Alexius

Tsar

(1645-1676)

Maria

m.

m. Natalia

Theodore III

Tsar

(1676-1682)

Ivan V

Tsar

(1682-1689)

Eudoxia m. Peter I, the Great

Tsar

(1682-1725)

m. Catherine I

Tsaritsa

(1725-1727)

Anne

Tsaritsa

(1730-1740)

Catherine

Anne

Ivan VI

Tsar

(1740-1741)

Alexis

Peter II

Tsar

(1727-1730)

Anne

Peter III

Tsar

(1762)

Elizabeth

Tsaritsa

(1741-1762)

m. Catherine II, the

Great Tsaritsa

(1762-1796)

Paul

Tsar

(1796-1801)

Alexander I

Tsar

(1801-1825)

Nicholas I

Tsar

(1825-1855)

Alexander II

Tsar

(1855-1881)

Alexander III

Tsar

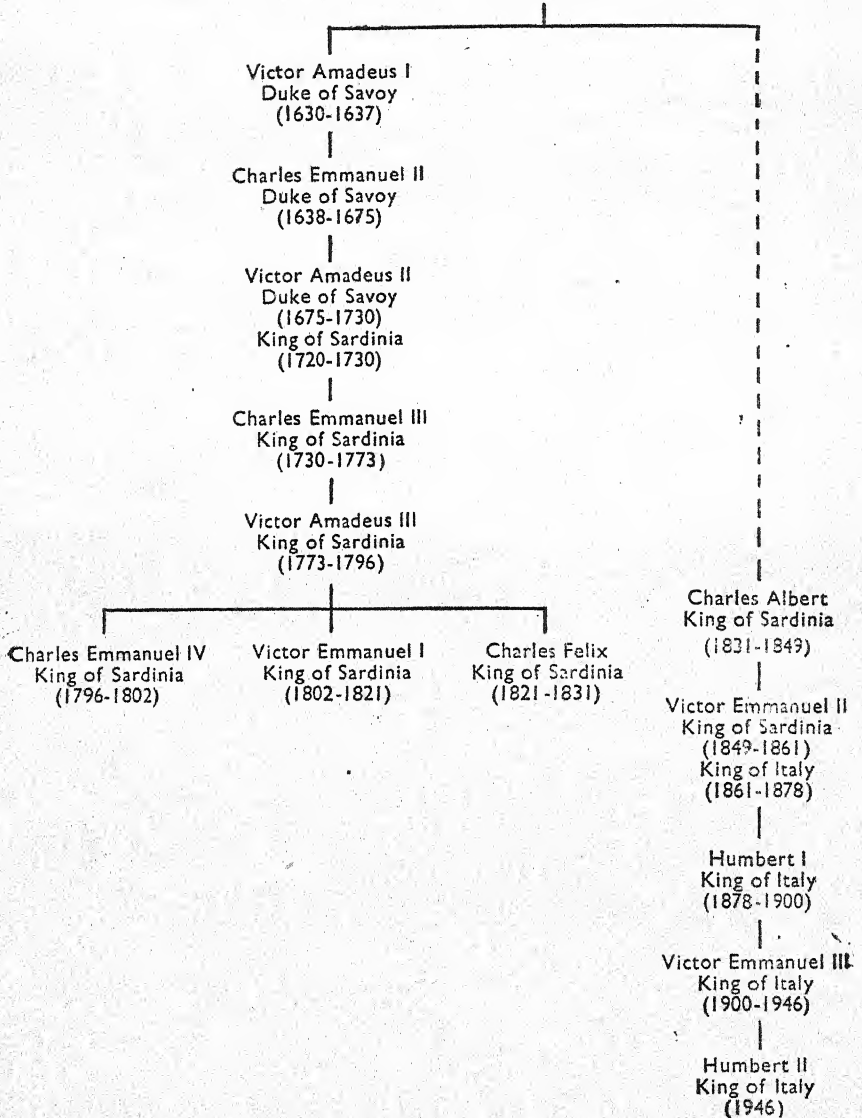
(1881-1894)

Nicholas II

Tsar

(1894-1917)

HOUSE OF SAVOY
(Sardinia-Italy)
Charles Emmanuel I
Duke of Savoy
(1580-1630)



HOUSE OF COBURG (Belgium)

Francis Frederick
Duke of Coburg

Edward, m. Victoria m. Charles, Prince of
Duke of Kent Leiningen

Queen Victoria
(Great Britain)

Leopold I
King of
Belgium
(1831-1865)

m. Louise,
daughter of
Louis Philippe
of France

Archduchess
Henrietta of
Tuscany

m. Leopold II
King of Belgium
(1865-1909)

Philip
Count of Flanders
d. 1905

Charlotte m. Maximilian
(Emperor of Mexico.)

Albert I
King of Belgium
(1909-1934)

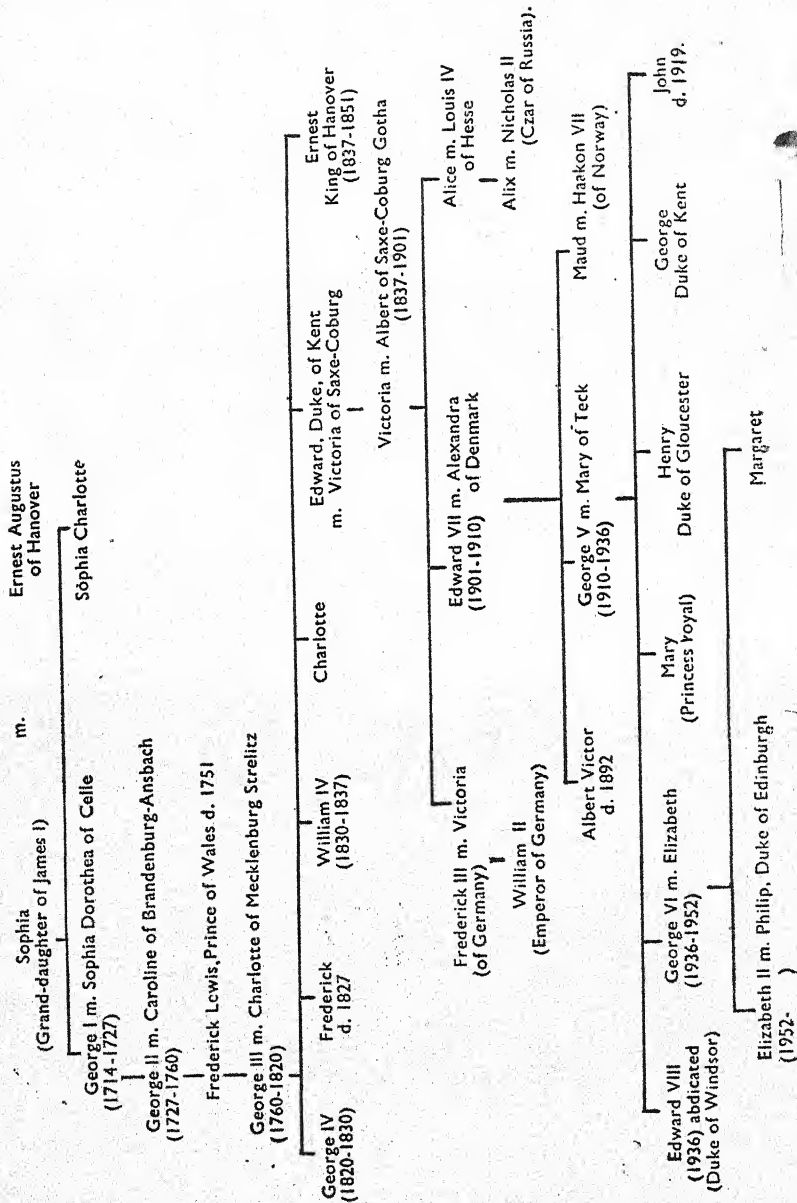
m. Elizabeth of
Bavaria

Leopold III
King of Belgium
(1934-1951)

m. Astrid of
Sweden.

Baudouin (1951-)

THE BRITISH ROYAL FAMILY (HANOVER, SAXE-COBURG & WINDSOR)



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